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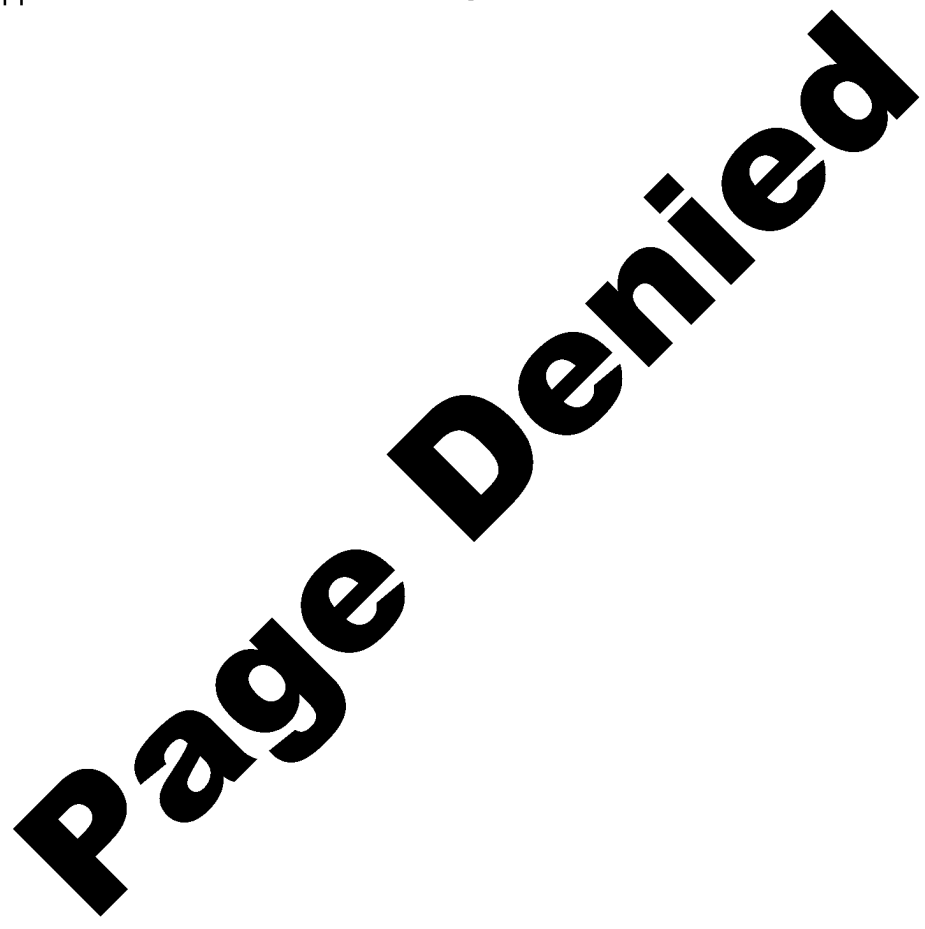

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THE SEVENTH ALL-CHINA CONGRESS OF TRADE UNIONS

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THE SEVENTH ALL-CHINA CONGRESS OF TRADE UNIONS

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Comrade Liu Shao-chi, Secretary and representative of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, greeting the Congress

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Delegates break into groups to discuss the various reports. Picture shows the Northeast group

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Delegates electing the leading body of the trade unions of China

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Comrade Wu Yu-chang, Chairman of the National Committee of the Educational Workers' Trade Union of China, chatting with educational workers from different places

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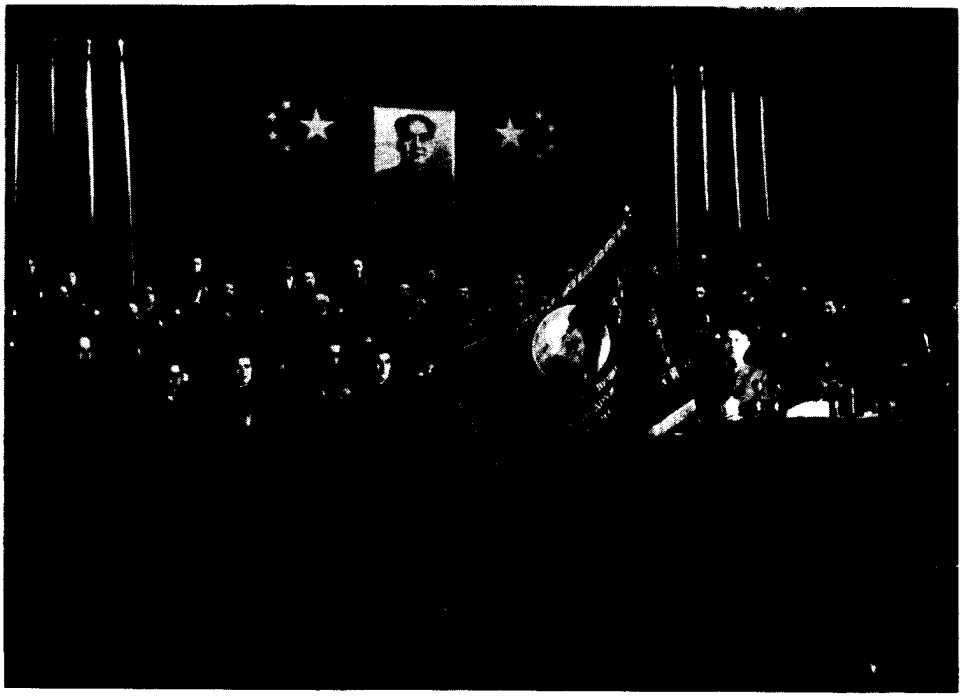

The Soviet trade union delegation presenting a banner to the Congress

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Representatives of Peking workers presenting bouquets to foreign delegates attending the Congress

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Chinese women delegates with their foreign friends: (from the left) Chang Ching (Vice-Chairman of the Textile Workers' Trade Union of China), Marie Trojanova (Secretary of the Central Council of Trade Unions of Czechoslovakia), Shen Kuei-ying (a worker of the Yu Hua Textile Factory at Wuhan), L. I. Ananyeva (Soviet textile worker), and D. M. Orudzheva (Chairman of the Union of Middle and Primary School Teachers of the Azerbaijan Republic)

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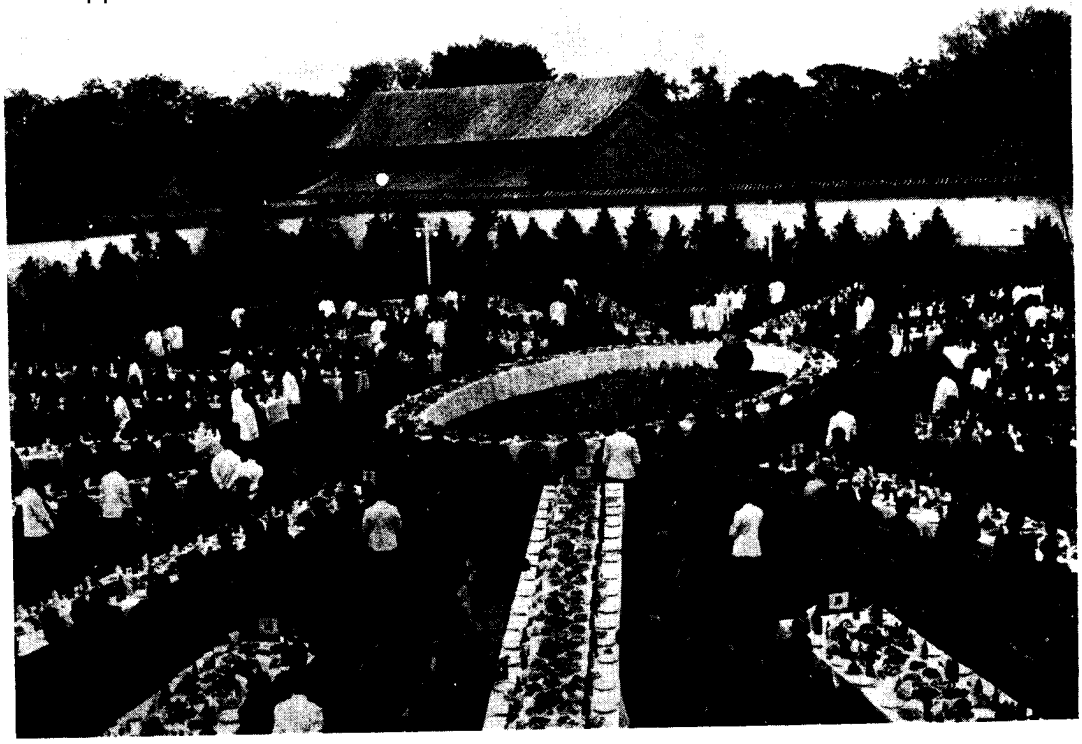

Premier Chou En-lai of the Government Administration Council of the Central People's Government entertains the delegates to the Seventh All-China Congress of Trade Unions and the foreign delegates

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Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

A Brief Account of the Seventh All-China Congress of Trade Unions 3

MESSAGES OF GREETINGS

Speech by Liu Shao-chi on Behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China . . 9

Speech by Chen Shu-tung on Behalf of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference . . . 14

Speech by Lin Po-chu on Behalf of the Central People's Government 17

Speech by Louis Saillant on Behalf of the World Federation of Trade Unions 21

Speech by I. V. Goroshkin on Behalf of the Soviet Trade Union Delegation 31

ADDRESSES AND REPORTS

Opening Address by Liu Ning-I 39

Report by Lai Jo-yu on the Trade Union Work in China 45

Report by Hsu Chih-chen on the Amendment to the Constitution of the Trade Unions of the People's Republic of China 84

Report by Yang Hsien-chen on Marxism—the Banner of Liberation of the Chinese Working Class 103

Closing Address by Liu Chang-sheng 121

APPENDIX

Constitution of the Trade Unions of the People's Republic of China 127

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

INTRODUCTION

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A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE SEVENTH ALL-CHINA CONGRESS OF TRADE UNIONS

The Seventh All-China Congress of Trade Unions was held in Peking, the capital of the People's Republic of China, from May 2 to 11 under the auspices of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions.

This Congress was the first national congress of trade unions held by the Chinese working class after the victory of the people's democratic revolution and the founding of the People's Republic of China. It marked the beginning of a new era for the Chinese working-class movement, an era of struggle for the industrialization of the country.

Comrade Liu Shao-chi, an outstanding leader of the Chinese working-class movement, addressing the Congress on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, clearly pointed out:

> Our Motherland is now entering upon a new historic epoch and has entrusted us with a new historic task, the task of carrying out the industrialization of our country and the gradual transition to socialism.

After thorough discussion the Congress unanimously adopted the resolutions concerning reports on the trade union work in China, on the amendments to the constitution and on the financial work of the trade unions. The Constitution of the Trade Unions of the People's Republic of China was also passed. It concretely defines the fundamental tasks and the political and organizational programme of the working-class movement and of the trade union work in the period of national planned construction. The Congress elected the new leading body of the All-China Federation of

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Trade Unions—the Seventh Executive Committee composed of 99 members (with one seat reserved for the workers' delegate from Taiwan) and 42 alternate members, and an Auditing Committee composed of 17 members. The Congress demonstrated the unprecedented unity of the Chinese working class.

Delegates to the Congress numbered 831, with 813 actually attending. They came from 29 provinces, 12 large cities and one autonomous region, representing 10,200,000 trade union members. Moreover, representatives from the railway workers of the Chinese People's Volunteers also took part. Thirty-eight trade union delegates and model workers from various regions and industries spoke one after another at the Congress. They reported on the great achievements of the workers in different places and industries in restoring the national economy and in construction undertakings, indicating the determination of the Chinese working class to fulfil and over-fulfil the state construction plans and to defend peace. They all realized that the well-steeled Communist Party of China, headed by the great Mao Tse-tung, which led the Chinese working class and the Chinese people to victory in the revolution as well as in economic rehabilitation, is the banner of victory of both the working class and the entire people, their organizer and their source of inspiration in the cause of national industrialization. Today our great Motherland has entered upon the era of construction, and the Chinese Communist Party will lead us to fresh victories —the victories in industrialization and gradual transition to socialism.

Under the guidance and care of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, and with the support of the Central People's Government and the whole Chinese people, the Congress achieved important successes, which will be of profound

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significance to the working-class movement and trade union work in the new era.

The Congress fully demonstrated the internationalist solidarity between the Chinese working class and the working class of other countries. Messages of greetings were received from the trade union organizations all over the world. Attending the Congress was the delegation, headed by Louis Saillant, from the World Federation of Trade Unions, the leading body of the world trade union movement, an organization which struggles for the unity and solidarity of the working class of the world and strives unceasingly for and contributes greatly to the defence of world peace. In addition, there were the representative of the Asian and Australasian Liaison Bureau of the WFTU, the trade union delegation, headed by I. V. Goroshkin, from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the closest and greatest ally of the Chinese people, trade union delegates from the People's Democracies and the German Democratic Republic, and delegations from trade union organizations of many Asian, Australasian, African and European countries. There were altogether 105 trade union delegates from 20 foreign countries. Louis Saillant and Goroshkin and trade union delegates of 19 other countries addressed the Congress. These addresses and the messages of greetings expressed the support of the world working class for the Chinese working class and the Chinese people in their great peaceful construction. They stimulated still further the enthusiasm and confidence of the Chinese working class and the Chinese people in building up their country and defending world peace. Through this Congress, the Chinese working class further understood that it should make greater efforts towards the unity and solidarity of the international working-class movement and towards a lasting world peace.

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The Seventh All-China Congress of Trade Unions, in response to the call of the World Federation of Trade Unions for the convocation of the Third World Congress of Trade Unions, unanimously endorsed the decision of the WFTU and elected a delegation of 30 persons. This once more manifested the close unity steadily growing between the Chinese working class and the working class of other countries all over the world.

The Chinese working class and the Chinese people enthusiastically supported the Congress and showed it deep concern. In this new era of national construction, with the assistance rendered by the great Soviet Union in the spirit of lofty friendship, we will struggle to carry out the directives of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Comrade Mao Tse-tung and accomplish the tasks of the trade unions of China—the industrialization of the country and gradual transition to socialism.

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MESSAGES OF GREETINGS

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SPEECH BY LIU SHAO-CHI ON BEHALF OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

Comrades and Guests:

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China I extend warm greetings and felicitations to the Seventh All-China Congress of Trade Unions.

Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese working class has carried out protracted and heroic struggles, and, in the revolutionary struggles, established the closest alliance with the broad masses of the peasants through the Chinese Communist Party, thus obtaining immense help from the peasantry. At the same time, it has established a revolutionary united front with other democratic classes in the country. It has thus formed a mighty revolutionary force, which defeated foreign imperialism and the counter-revolutionaries within the country, and achieved victory in the great revolution of the people. After the victory of the revolution, it consolidated the people's democratic dictatorship, supported the victorious struggle to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, and completed the rehabilitation of the national economy. All these are great historic successes. In these great struggles, the broad masses of the Chinese working class have shown boundless courage and industry, contributed wisdom and fulfilled the duty that history bestowed upon them. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China would like to express its sincere gratitude to the Chinese working class.

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Comrades! Our Motherland is now entering upon a new historic epoch and has entrusted us with a new historic task, the task of carrying out the industrialization of our country and the gradual transition to socialism. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has said: "Without industry, it would not be possible to have solid national defence, welfare for the people and a strong and prosperous country."

The first and foremost need for the development of our country under present conditions is the rapid development of our industry and especially the building and development of our heavy industry. The level of our present industrial output must be raised from year to year both in quantity and quality. Many factories will be renovated and expanded. At the same time we will build many new factories and new branches of industrial production. Other economic and cultural enterprises must also be developed rapidly in conformity with the development of industry.

Step by step we must turn our country into an industrial country with a high technical level. This great enterprise has already begun; work on several hundred construction projects is already, or will soon be, started, and they will be carried on in the future on an ever expanding scale. The fulfilment of this historic task will make our country and our people immensely rich and prosperous. But such a task depends especially on the Chinese working class, who must make their efforts in a better organized way and on a higher level of political consciousness.

For the purpose of carrying out this new historic task, we must exert the greatest efforts toward developing to the full the activity and creativeness of the broad masses of the working class, in the struggle for fulfilling and over-fulfilling the economic plan of the country, and in the struggle for raising labour productivity, improving the quality of products, practising strict economy and reducing cost of production.

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In order to do this, it is necessary to organize effectively labour emulation drives of the workers in a practical way, to bring to the fore and seriously study all new and advanced experiences and rationalization proposals. We should especially learn from the advanced experiences of the Soviet Union, spread these advanced experiences and apply them in a practical way. We must incessantly raise the technical and cultural levels of the workers. We must intensify the training of the ever-growing number of new workers, and help the old workers treat the new workers in a proper and helpful manner.

For this purpose we must strengthen communist education among the workers and raise their political consciousness, so that they may realize the identity of the interests of all the people, of the state and of their own. At the same time we must adopt the method of criticism and self-criticism to overcome the defects and correct the mistakes existing in the various enterprises, oppose bureaucracy, oppose all kinds of breach of labour discipline and greatly strengthen labour discipline.

For this purpose too we must constantly pay close attention to the living conditions of the masses of the workers. On the basis of increased production, the material and cultural life and working conditions of the workers shall be improved step by step wherever necessary and possible. To raise the material and cultural well-being of the working class and all the labouring people, and to prevent our country from being invaded by imperialism constitutes the ultimate aims of the industrial development and all other efforts of our country.

I believe that in the deliberations of this Congress you will and should thoroughly discuss these problems. If these problems are solved correctly, we will further improve our work in the trade unions.

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The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China is convinced that the trade union work in China has made positive achievements. However, there are still many defects and mistakes. We hope that you will seriously develop criticism and self-criticism in order to make known the good points, overcome the defects and correct the mistakes, in order that the work of the trade unions, under the leadership of the Communist Party, will be further improved and that our trade unions will actually become, as Lenin said, the "builder of new life," the "educator of tens of millions."

Comrades! Aside from shouldering the above-mentioned responsibilities in the domestic field, the Chinese working class has to take upon itself grave responsibilities in the international field. That is, the Chinese working class must struggle for the unity of the working class of the whole world and, under the leadership of the World Federation of Trade Unions, must strive for the unity of the international working-class movement and work together with the working class of all the countries and the progressive mankind as a whole for the defence of world peace and security.

The Chinese working class which has already achieved victory must whole-heartedly render every possible assistance to the working class and labouring people in capitalist as well as colonial and semi-colonial countries. This is a glorious duty which we must not shirk. The Chinese trade unions must in the future strengthen their work in this respect so that it can be better carried out.

Comrades, the responsibilities in both domestic and international fields of the working class as the leading class in our country are enormous. In order to gradually carry out national industrialization and the transition to a socialist society and in order to best shoulder our international responsibilities, we must consolidate the unity in the ranks of the working class, further consolidate the alliance of the

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workers and peasants and the intellectuals and strengthen the people's democratic front based on the alliance of the workers and peasants. Our comrades must take note that the whole country is paying close attention to every piece of work done by the working class, and the labouring people and progressive mankind throughout the world are following our work with the same interest. The success or failure of our work will have far-reaching effects. Therefore, our trade unions must educate all the workers to remember what Comrade Mao Tse-tung has taught us—not to be satisfied with our past achievements, never to show arrogance, and to maintain every minute of the day a modest attitude of learning, to abandon all bad habits and prejudices and make every effort to improve ourselves—so that the working class can do all its work in an ever better manner. Only in this way shall we not disappoint the hope of all the Chinese people and the labouring people of the whole world.

We are confident that under the brilliant leadership of the Communist Party of China and of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, with the common efforts of the Chinese working class and the entire population, and with the mighty help of the Soviet Union, the People's Democracies and the working people of the whole world, we shall be able to overcome all difficulties and succeed in making China a happy, socialist, industrialized and strong nation.

March forward under the banner of the great teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin!

March forward under the leadership of our leader, Comrade Mao Tse-tung!

Long live the unity of the whole Chinese working class!

Long live the unity of the working class throughout the world!

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SPEECH BY CHEN SHU-TUNG ON BEHALF OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE

Delegates and Comrades:

On behalf of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, I warmly greet the opening of the Seventh All-China Congress of Trade Unions.

Under the leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Communist Party of China, the Chinese working class, displaying unmatched courage and firm will, has always stood in the forefront, whether in the struggle for the liberation of the Chinese people, in the construction of the country, or in resisting U.S. aggression and aiding Korea. The workers have shown inexhaustible wisdom and strength, and have constantly overcome difficulties. Many heroes and model workers, both men and women, have emerged from the working class. Victories have been won. These victories have brought about profound and basic changes in all aspects of Chinese society.

In the three years since the liberation of the whole country, the Chinese people have become united as never before; state economy, disrupted by protracted fighting, has been completely restored; people's democratic dictatorship has been firmly established; the ranks of the working class have grown on an unprecedented scale, its status as the leading class has been strengthened. All this has created advantageous conditions for our country's large-scale, long-term and planned construction.

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The Seventh All-China Congress of Trade Unions is being held at a time when our great Motherland and our great people are confronted in 1953 with three great tasks: (1) to continue to strengthen the Movement to Resist U.S. Aggression and Aid Korea; (2) to start the Five-Year Plan of national construction; and (3) to convene the All-China People's Congress and local people's congresses of all levels.

The convening of the Seventh All-China Congress of Trade Unions, therefore, is of vital significance. I believe, that just like the congresses of the past, it will play an important role in mobilizing the working class of the whole country to respond to the state's call for the fulfilment of these three great tasks.

We firmly believe that under the leadership of the Seventh All-China Congress of Trade Unions, the working class of the whole country will become still more united under the banner of the great Mao Tse-tung, and that it will make every effort to develop labour emulation drives, observe labour discipline, study advanced Soviet experiences, advanced methods of work, develop potential productive forces, increase labour productivity, improve the quality of production, economize raw materials, reduce production costs, and struggle for the fulfilment and over-fulfilment of national construction plans.

Moreover, the workers will take an active part in the elections of the people's congresses of all levels by voting for those whom they think most competent and most qualified to serve in central government institutions and local government bodies, so as to strengthen the Chinese people's democratic dictatorship and national economic construction.

Everyone knows that the cause of national economic construction is inseparable from the defence of world peace. Hence, the working class of the whole country should unite all the more closely with all the toiling people to continue to

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strengthen the Movement to Resist U.S. Aggression and Aid Korea, consolidate national defence, ensure state security and peaceful construction, and further strengthen the democratic peace camp headed by the Soviet Union, and defend peace in the Far East and the whole world.

Comrades! The three tasks before us are as momentous as they are glorious. But we are fully confident that we shall successfully accomplish these great and urgent tasks. Past experience has proved that under the leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Communist Party of China the Chinese people have the strength at their command to achieve great and brilliant successes.

Finally, I wish this Congress every success.

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SPEECH BY LIN PO-CHU ON BEHALF OF THE CENTRAL PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT

Delegates and Comrades:

The Seventh All-China Congress of Trade Unions was inaugurated in Peking today. On behalf of the Central People's Government, I extend warm greetings to the Congress.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party of China and the great leader of the Chinese people, Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese working class, together with the Chinese people, has finally achieved victory in the great revolution and has founded the People's Republic of China after more than thirty years of heroic struggle. This is the greatest victory the Chinese working class and the labouring people of China have ever won in their history. It is precisely because the state system of this country is that of a people's democratic dictatorship, led by the working class and based on the alliance of the workers and peasants that the status of the working class and the labouring people has undergone distinct, basic changes.

Ever since its establishment, the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, in order to safeguard the fruits of the people's victory and to consolidate the people's democratic dictatorship, has relied on the working class and the people of the whole country to carry out the great Movement to Resist U.S. Aggression and Aid Korea, the land reform, suppression of counter-revolutionaries, *San Fan* and *Wu Fan* movements, and the democratic reform in the enterprises throughout the country. Through more than three years of ceaseless struggle, the working class has

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scored brilliant victories on many fronts. Our country has achieved unprecedented unity; the feudal system has been shattered to its very foundation; the financial and economic conditions of our country have taken a fundamental turn for the better; the country's industrial and agricultural production has not only reached but has in certain cases surpassed the highest levels in the pre-liberation days.

Having become masters of the country, and realizing their responsibility, China's workers have, during these great movements, fully developed their creativeness and initiative, and have played a truly leading role among the people of the whole country. In the labour emulation drives and in the dissemination of advanced experiences, many model workers and inspiring deeds have come to the fore. These movements have in turn raised and tempered the political consciousness of the Chinese working class which, fully confident of victory, is advancing to fulfil the glorious task of planned construction of the country. This has fully proved that the social and state system of people's democracy, based on the leadership of the working class and the alliance of the workers and peasants, is immeasurably superior to the capitalist system.

From the very first day, the Central People's Government, headed by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, has paid special attention to the status and role of the working class in the state power of our country, and to the great significance of strengthening the trade union work as a means of achieving the industrialization of the country and its advancement towards socialism.

The Trade Union Law promulgated by the Central People's Government in June 1950, the Labour Insurance Regulations promulgated by the Government Administration Council of the Central People's Government in February 1951, and other labour-protecting policies are all important

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measures to develop the active role of the working class in the construction of the country.

In January 1953, the Central People's Government adopted a decision to hold general elections and to convene thereafter the All-China People's Congress and local people's congresses of all levels, and to draw up the Constitution. This will further demonstrate the superiority of the social and state system of people's democracy. We are fully convinced that the Chinese working class, under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, will further develop its own strength, unite more closely with the peasants, and on the basis of the consolidation of the worker-peasant alliance, rally all the nationalities and people of all strata of the whole country to fulfil this historically significant task in the political life of our country.

Comrades! This year marks the beginning of the First Five-Year Plan of national construction. Facing this great and glorious task, we are fully confident that, under the leadership of the Communist Party of China and the great leader of the Chinese people, Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese working class will, by its own labour and wisdom, participate with ever greater enthusiasm in national construction. The trade unions of China will strengthen their activities and further unite and guide the working class throughout the country to study Soviet advanced experiences, unfold patriotic labour emulation drives, supervise the thorough implementation of government policies, laws and decrees in state and private enterprises, ensure the fulfilment and over-fulfilment of the state economic plan, march towards the industrialization of the country and socialism, and, uniting with the world working class, strive for a lasting world peace and people's democracy.

Long live the Chinese working class!

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

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Long live the solidarity of the working class of the world!

Long live the great People's Republic of China!

Long live the great, glorious and consistently correct Communist Party of China!

Long live the great leader of the Chinese people, Chairman Mao Tse-tung!

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SPEECH BY LOUIS SAILLANT ON BEHALF OF THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

Dear Comrades:

On behalf of the 80 million workers united in the ranks of the World Federation of Trade Unions, I fraternally and warmly salute the delegates to the Seventh All-China Congress of Trade Unions and all the workers of your great and wonderful country.

I warmly wish the greatest success to the Congress which is an important event in the national life of China, as well as an important event in the life of our international working-class movement.

From this rostrum I should like to extend my sincere thanks to the All-China Federation of Trade Unions for its valuable assistance to and constant support of the World Federation of Trade Unions and its Trade Departments.

By actively participating in the international working-class movement, in showing numerous proofs of its international solidarity, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions is holding high the banner of proletarian internationalism in the countries of Asia and Australasia, a banner behind which the workers in the capitalist and colonial countries in the struggle against their exploiters stand shoulder to shoulder with their brothers and sisters of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, and all the People's Democracies, thus forming the world front of struggle of the workers on the glorious road to socialism. The workers throughout the world follow with great sympathy the success of the Chinese people in the building up of a new state which protects the people who from now on are masters of their own destiny.

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

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Your first successes in your creative work, dear Chinese comrades, have without any doubt put you on the road to even greater successes.

You have taken this road under the guidance of your respected and beloved leader, Chairman of your glorious Communist Party, Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

We view with great joy the progressive transformation of China. The Chinese workers have the right to be proud of the achievements to which they are devoting all their efforts and all the passion of a people that loves its country.

In their work of creating a new and happy life in your country, which without any doubt is laying the foundations of socialism, the Chinese people are drawing inspiration from the great historic lessons and the victorious experiences of the Soviet people—the first people in the history of mankind to have shown that capitalism was neither universal nor eternal, and who with the October Revolution of 1917, showed that the era of socialism had begun, opening new perspectives before all mankind.

Comrades, while you men and women workers of New China are winning day after day new successes on the road to a better life, the situation of the workers in the capitalist, semi-colonial and colonial countries is very different.

In point of fact, misery is increasing in these countries, wreaking havoc among families. Unemployment is rapidly expanding. Wherever social welfare exists, it is subjected to attacks. Social legislation is under constant attack. Repression is striking the working class, its militants and its organizations. Where the monopoly capitalists are accumulating maximum gigantic profits the living conditions of millions of working men and women are becoming more and more unbearable.

This is why the number of struggles for wage demands has increased considerably recently. The workers, with ever-

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

increasing unity of action, are switching more and more on to the offensive in these struggles.

The recent strikes in Japan, the many strikes in India and other countries of South-East Asia, and the general increase of struggles against unemployment, dismissals and the lowering of real wages, are proofs of positive developments of this mass action.

Every case confirms the direct link that exists between the workers' struggles for their demands and the action of the people for national independence and the defence of peace.

How is one to characterize the conditions under which the struggles of the workers and the activity of the World Federation of Trade Unions are developing in the capitalist, colonial and semi-colonial countries? We can answer this question as follows:

1. The unceasing struggles of the labouring masses for better living conditions, for peace and national independence are resulting in the open violation by the ruling classes of the capitalist countries of their own bourgeois laws. These bourgeois laws no longer sufficiently protect the ruling classes against the legitimate demands of the working masses. The ruling classes are resorting more and more to brutal, anti-democratic and anti-working class repression. They are changing their regimes into police regimes which will absolutely protect their class privileges.

Political and social discrimination of a fascist character is one of the bases of the new laws which the ruling class is attempting to establish and extend.

2. Contradictions of interests between the capitalist countries are arising and growing more open than in previous years. Other conflicts are rapidly maturing which are the direct consequence of the intolerable policy of the American imperialists in trying to achieve world hegemony.

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

In face of these contradictions of interests between capitalists eager for maximum profits, the working class with its vanguard organizations and its trade unions is developing its struggles on the basis of proletarian internationalism. In each country, the working class is furthering the cause of unity among workers, peasants, intellectuals and the progressive sections of the bourgeoisie. Thus the ardent struggle of the peoples for their democratic rights and vital needs is linked with their no less ardent struggle for national independence.

3. The conflicts between the peoples of the colonial and semi-colonial countries and the governments of the colonial powers are growing, and becoming more intense. Within the last few years they have extended to new sections of the world. The whole colonial system is shaken to all its traditional and vital foundations. The colonial and feudal systems are seeing the rise of millions of human beings in open struggle against colonial oppression.

In these struggles, the estimations we made here in Peking in December 1949 at the Trade Union Conference of the Asian and Australasian Countries concerning the role and tasks of the trade unions have proved to be correct.

In the colonial and semi-colonial countries the trade unions are a real force of a genuinely national character from the moment when they take an active part in the people's resistance against colonialism and when they become important basis for the development of mass action.

This makes the colonialists want to subject the trade unions completely to their own policies. But they are meeting with increasing difficulties.

We certainly foresee the time when the trade unions in the colonial and semi-colonial countries will surge forward and develop fully. This will be the moment when the peo-

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

ple, through a tremendous effort of patriotism, will have shaken off the hold of imperialism and colonial slavery.

It is the honour and pride of the World Federation of Trade Unions to support this great, historic struggle of the peoples for their national independence and national liberation wherever it is necessary.

It is the honour and pride of the World Federation of Trade Unions to have stimulated the great currents of international solidarity on behalf of the complete liberation of the colonial peoples.

It is the honour and pride of the World Federation of Trade Unions to have stood since June 25, 1950, side by side with the Korean people, who rose united and solid as a rock against the aggression of the United States imperialists.

In the last three years the World Federation of Trade Unions has continuously affirmed its active solidarity with the wonderful people of Korea. From this rostrum you will permit its representative to express his gratitude and pay homage both to the fighting Korean people and to the heroic Chinese Volunteers.

The move for peace from the governments of the People's Republic of China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, shows the possibility of a peaceful settlement of the whole Korean question and was welcomed last month by all the peoples of Asia and by those of the other continents.

Today, the facts once more prove that there is no international conflict that cannot be settled by discussion and negotiation. We are now living in a period of major importance for the destiny of our generation and future generations. The World Federation of Trade Unions, at the 22nd meeting of its Executive Bureau which took place a week ago in Vienna, Austria, called on the workers of all lands to redouble their efforts and to use every means of pressure in

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

their power to obtain an immediate ceasefire in Korea and a peaceful settlement of the Korean question.

Expressing the will of these masses, the World Federation of Trade Unions considers that the recent debate at the United Nations on the Korean question now makes it necessary for that organization to adopt truly effective measures for the establishment of peace in Korea.

If the United Nations does not take such measures it will lose for ever all its prestige in the eyes of the people of the world. The United Nations, which to our regret has covered the imperialist operation against the Korean people with its flag, can become an instrument of peace in the service of the peoples. For this the obligations for which it was created in 1945 must first of all be honoured.

The United Nations organization must thereafter, and without further delay, put an end to its own weakness by giving the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China the seat in the United Nations to which the great Chinese people is entitled.

By taking the cause of peace in their hands and defending it to the end, the peoples can, by their joint efforts, make 1953 a noteworthy stage in the strengthening of friendly cooperation between them, the establishment of peaceful relations between all nations whatever their social system, and the starting point for the immediate building of peace.

The trade unions have a special role to play in the cause of peaceful coexistence. They can be in their respective countries, in the capitalist, semi-colonial and colonial countries, the driving force for an economic policy based on great commercial interchange as opposed to the present discrimination fomented and desired by the imperialists.

This particular activity of the trade unions will buttress in a concrete and solid manner their participation in the struggle for national independence and national liberation.

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Comrades!

One of the reasons why we attach great importance to the Seventh All-China Congress of Trade Unions is that it takes place five months before the convocation of the Third World Trade Union Congress which will be held in Vienna beginning on October 10 next. Organized by our Federation, the Third World Trade Union Congress will be effectively the congress of all the workers of the whole world.

This Congress will be a congress of unity in which organizations not affiliated to the WFTU but desirous of defending the workers' interests and peace, may participate.

On April 22, the Executive Bureau of the World Federation of Trade Unions appealed to the workers of the world to prepare for the Third World Trade Union Congress. What language does the World Federation of Trade Unions use to all the workers of the world, to all the trade unions, whether they be members of the Federation or not?

It is the language of comradeship, of fraternity and of solidarity.

The World Federation of Trade Unions said to them:
Dear Comrades and Friends,

We live in different countries. We represent all the races, all the nationalities, and all the political and religious convictions on earth. We speak different languages but we have common interests for we are class brothers. We are united in the conviction that the living conditions of the workers are deteriorating in the capitalist and colonial countries and that we must struggle for an improvement.

We are united in the conviction that, wherever it exists, social legislation should be improved, and that it should be instituted wherever there is none.

We are united in the conviction that an end must be put to super-exploitation, and that discrimination

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

against race, colour, sex or age must be abolished. We are united in the conviction that public health should be improved, and education should be extended. We are united in the conviction that no one has the right to forbid the legitimate activities of the trade unions, nor rob man of his rights and his basic and sacred democratic liberties.

Finally, we are united in the conviction that peace can be safeguarded and that war is not inevitable.

We have, then, a broad basis for unity. If we want to win our struggles we must make this unity of common aims and interests into a unity of action. Wherever the workers are united success is assured.

The World Federation of Trade Unions has always considered the struggle for international unity of action among the workers as its greatest duty. It has always promoted the unity and action of workers.

By preparing for it at all places of work, make the Third World Trade Union Congress a great congress of unity of all the workers of all countries.

Undoubtedly no other organization is in the position so to speak to the workers of the world. The splitters in the ranks of trade union movement are the advocates of imperialist policies who support the colonial and semi-colonial systems because they personally are closely linked with the interests and actions of the imperialist governments. It is not they who can speak this way to the workers of all countries.

The World Federation of Trade Unions is conscious of its responsibilities before the workers of the whole world. We do not feel responsible only before the 80 million members of the Federation or the workers affiliated to the World Federation of Trade Unions.

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

More and more we say, whether the union to which they are affiliated is a member of the World Federation of Trade Unions or not, every time workers take action in a capitalist, semi-colonial or colonial country, the needs of their struggle, its causes, and the creation of the conditions for its success invariably lead these workers to take the banner of the World Federation of Trade Unions as their banner, and the essential parts of the Programme of the World Federation of Trade Unions as their programme, and to use the means of action which are recommended by the Federation.

This means that the World Federation of Trade Unions is responsible for its actions before the workers belonging to trade unions which are not affiliated to it.

We gladly accept such responsibilities, because they testify to the increasing development of united action among the workers in every country, as well as to the development of international united action.

Once more we affirm that the question of united action is the foundation of all success in trade union activities and in the activity of working men and women.

To achieve united action everywhere, such is the essential and decisive task which confronts the trade union movement today.

Our stand in favour of united action and of united trade union movement in all countries is a fundamental stand for the World Federation of Trade Unions.

The friends and partisans of the World Federation of Trade Unions must act from this fundamental stand and always respect it. In this way, they will constantly give rise to new moves for unity; in this way, they will create the conditions for a broad rallying of the masses.

The task of the trade unions and their leaders is never to allow themselves to become detached from the masses of

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

workers, and to raise their class consciousness through everyday struggles and experiences.

The task of the trade unions and their leaders is to know themselves how to learn from the masses and with the masses.

We will forward the work of unity among the workers in the preparations for the Third World Trade Union Congress by developing new efforts in favour of unity and by exposing before the workers the anti-working class and anti-democratic policies of the diehard enemies of unity.

Long live the unity of the workers of the whole world and their international solidarity!

Long live the Seventh All-China Congress of Trade Unions!

Long live the World Federation of Trade Unions, the active fighter for peace among all peoples, for national independence, for democratic liberties and the welfare of the workers of the world!

Long live the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China and the leader of the Chinese people, Comrade Mao Tse-tung!

Peking, May 2, 1953

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

SPEECH BY I. V. GOROSHKIN ON BEHALF OF THE SOVIET TRADE UNION DELEGATION

Dear Comrades:

We are entrusted by the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, U.S.S.R., to convey to you, the delegates of the Seventh All-China Congress of Trade Unions, and through you to the great Chinese people, our hearty and fraternal greetings.

Your Congress is convened at a time of immense victories attained by the Chinese people in the creation of their new life.

The victory of the Chinese people's revolution has removed the imperialist and feudal yoke, and directed the life of the Chinese people along a new path, along the path of creating a free and happy life.

The working people of your country during a short period have gained remarkable achievements in the field of restoration and development of industry, transport and agriculture. By the end of 1952 industrial and agricultural production has already reached the pre-war level and in many fields of production surpassed this level. On the basis of achievements in economic construction the material and cultural standard of the people is being steadily raised.

Successful restoration of the economy has created the foundation for transition towards planned development of the national economy on the basis of industrialization, and has allowed you from 1953 to proceed your work on a wide scale, which ensures the further development of industry, transport, agriculture, the growth of culture and education, and the raising of the material well-being of the population.

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

The working people of the Soviet Union watch your work with attention and sympathy, and they rejoice over your achievements in the construction of the mighty people's democratic state, the achievements gained under the leadership of the heroic Communist Party and their much tried leader Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

All freedom-loving peoples are inspired by your successes. They see in the creation and strengthening of the People's Republic of China the victory of the camp of peace, democracy and socialism.

* * *

The Soviet people, rallying closely around the Communist Party and the Soviet Government, are working with the greatest enthusiasm for the fulfilment of the Fifth Five-Year Plan. They are filled with the lofty aspiration to use all their strength, experience and knowledge to struggle for the complete triumph of the great cause of Lenin and Stalin.

In this creative work of the Soviet people, the trade unions play a great and honourable role. Socialist emulation, embracing the entire people of our enterprises, and guided by the trade unions, becomes more and more mighty.

Men and women workers are successfully carrying out emulation for the fulfilment of the plans ahead of schedule, for high quality production, for the economizing in the use of raw materials, and for surpassing the plan of socialist accumulation.

In fulfilling their socialist obligations the workers of our country receive comradely help from our trade unions.

The network of the Stakhanovite schools, schools of the working youth, various courses and circles, night and correspondence courses of the technical secondary schools and colleges is widespread throughout the Soviet enterprises

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

All these give fullest possibilities to the workers and employees to take secondary and higher education without ceasing work, and to heighten their industrial qualifications.

The results of socialist emulation are expressed in the outstanding development of the national economy.

The results of work during the first two years of the Fifth Five-Year Plan clearly show that our people are successfully carrying out the directions of the 19th Party Congress on the Fifth Five-Year Plan, and the wise and brilliant instructions of our leader and teacher Comrade Stalin concerning the path of transition from socialism to communism.

In 1952 our industry over-fulfilled the plan, the gross output was by 11% more than that of 1951. Those industries which produce the means of production are developing especially rapidly. In 1952 the general output exceeded the pre-war level by approximately 170%.

During the previous year the Soviet machine-building industry produced machines and equipment amounting to nearly 300% of those of the pre-war year of 1940.

The industries producing consumer goods are steadily growing. Socialist agriculture has attained important achievements. The gross harvest of grain in 1952 amounted to eight milliard poods.

The growth of public production in the Soviet Union is not an end in itself but a means to achieve maximum satisfaction of the steadily growing material and cultural needs of the whole society.

The Communist Party and the Soviet Government unceasingly care for the betterment of the material well-being of the workers, collective farmers, intelligentzia and all Soviet people.

The significant achievements, reached by our people in the development of industrial and agricultural production,

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

have afforded the possibility of carrying out from the first of April of this year the sixth reduction of state retail prices, of food and industrial goods since 1947.

The new reduction of retail prices will promote the further substantial raising of the living standards of all strata of the population of our country, raise the real wages of the workers and employees and increase the income of the farmers.

The steady rising of the living standards of the Soviet people is convincing proof of the superiority of the socialist order over that of capitalism. The latter dooms the working people to misery, unemployment and hardships which are linked with militarization of the national economy and the preparation for a new war.

In our country large-scale work in building houses and other buildings for cultural and daily needs is being carried out. With these aims the Fifth Five-Year Plan provides for expenditure of tens of milliards of rubles. The Soviet people have tens of millions of square metres of new and well-arranged buildings, hundreds of new clubs, schools, hospitals, sanatoria and rest homes.

A powerful factor in raising the material well-being of the workers and employees in our country is the state social insurance. The management of the entire system of social insurance is in the hands of the trade unions.

In 1953 the State allotted more than 22.5 milliard rubles for social insurance measures. Expenditure for old-age pensions and continuous employment pensions for those who continue working, for benefits in case of temporary disablement due to sickness or accident, and for maternity benefits, will amount to more than 19.5 milliard rubles.

In 1953, about three million workers and office employees will rest or take cures at the expense of social insurance funds at the trade union health resorts. During

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

the summer months more than five million Soviet children will enjoy holidays in the pioneers' summer camps and cottages. The working people of the Soviet Union receive free medical aid in the medical establishments.

The steady raising of the material and cultural standards of the working people of the Soviet Union speaks convincingly of the peaceful direction in the development of the Soviet economy.

* * *

The working people of the Soviet Union, being engaged in peaceful and creative work, are interested in lasting peace. The Soviet Government, expressing the will of the whole of our people, does its utmost to prevent the unleashing of a new war, to prevent the prolonged bloodshed of millions of people, and to secure peaceful creation of happy life.

The peoples of the world have won a very great victory in establishing for the first time in world history the mighty camp of peace, democracy and socialism. This camp of peace-loving states includes now 800 million people.

Our sacred obligation is to secure and strengthen the camp of peace, democracy and socialism, to reinforce the unity of the peoples in the struggle for peace, and to increase and rally the ranks of the fighters for peace.

The alliance and friendship between the great peoples of the Chinese People's Republic and the Soviet Union are of outstanding significance in the struggle for world peace.

J. V. Stalin, the standard-bearer of peace, taught us that "the great friendship between the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic is the reliable guarantee against a threat of a new aggression and a powerful bulwark of peace in the Far East and all over the world."

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

The Soviet trade unions see as their main task the developing and strengthening in all possible ways of the friendship and close co-operation between the working people of the Chinese People's Republic and the Soviet Union.

The fraternal friendship between our peoples will henceforth contribute to the great cause of democracy and progress, and to the cause of peace and security of the peoples.

Dear comrades, allow me once more to greet you and wish you further successes in the construction of a mighty people's democratic state.

Long live the everlasting friendship between the Chinese and Soviet peoples!

Long live the Chinese working class!

Long live the great unity of the working people in the whole world, who are fighting for peace and democracy!

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

ADDRESSES AND REPORTS

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

OPENING ADDRESS BY LIU NING-I (May 2, 1953)

Delegates, Guests and Comrades:

We now declare the opening of the Seventh All-China Congress of Trade Unions.

This Congress is the first All-China Congress of Trade Unions of the Chinese working class convened after the victory of the people's democratic revolution in China and the founding of the People's Republic of China. It is of immense significance in the historical development of the Chinese working-class movement.

Besides the trade union delegates from every part of the country who are attending this Congress, representatives of the Central People's Government and various other quarters are present to guide our work. There are also delegates from the railway workers in the Chinese People's Volunteers.

We are especially happy and honoured to have with us the trade union delegates of many other countries. We have among us the delegation, headed by Comrade Louis Saillant, from the World Federation of Trade Unions, the leading body of the world trade union movement—an organization which struggles for the unity and solidarity of the working class of the world and has striven unceasingly for and contributed greatly to the defence of world peace. We have among us the trade union delegation from the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics, the closest and greatest ally of the Chinese people, trade union delegates from the People's Democracies and the German Democratic Republic, and delegations from the various trade union organizations of many Asian and Australasian countries and France. Hence

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

our Congress not only demonstrates the triumphant unity of the Chinese working class, but also shows the great friendship and unity between the Chinese working class and the working class of the world. We whole-heartedly welcome the presence and guidance of the guests from home and abroad. We warmly hail the successful opening of this united and impressive Congress!

The Sixth All-China Labour Congress was held in Harbin in August 1948. The great historic task of mobilizing the working class and rallying the people throughout the country to support the revolutionary war for the liberation of China, as set forth by that Congress, has been successfully accomplished.

Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, the great Chinese people and the Chinese working class under the leadership of the Communist Party of China and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, with the fraternal and selfless help of our great ally, the Soviet Government and people, and with the trust, sympathy and support of the People's Democracies and the working class and people of the world, have done much in the sphere of gigantic economic restoration and achieved brilliant successes. At the same time there were launched throughout the country the great Movement to Resist U.S. Aggression and Aid Korea, the agrarian reform movement, the movement to suppress counter-revolutionaries, the *San Fan* movement (the movement against corruption, waste and bureaucracy in government establishments and social organizations), the *Wu Fan* movement (the movement against the bribery of government employees, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts and stealing economic information for private speculation by the law-breaking elements of the bourgeoisie) and democratic reforms in the enterprises. All these movements have effectively safeguarded and consolidated the most precious

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

fruit of victory of the Chinese working class and the Chinese people—the people's democratic dictatorship.

We have, under difficult post-war conditions, not only restored production but also succeeded through a series of great efforts, in increasing labour productivity, raising the rate of utilization of equipment, promoting the extensive activities of inventors and innovators, studying advanced experiences, raising the quantity and quality of output, and reducing production costs, with the result that our industries and transport enterprises have rapidly reached and surpassed the highest pre-liberation levels. We have created the necessary conditions for the planned economic construction of the country. A new and great historical epoch of the Chinese people, the epoch of planned national economic construction, is now before us. We hail the convocation of this Congress. We welcome with boundless enthusiasm and confidence the beginning of the period of national economic construction, the new and great historic task of the Chinese working class.

At this Congress, we shall sum up our experiences in trade union work since the Sixth All-China Labour Congress and especially during the period of national economic restoration after the founding of the People's Republic of China. Moreover, on this basis and in accordance with the directive of the Communist Party of China, we shall map out the policy and define the tasks of the Chinese trade unions in the period of planned economic construction.

This Congress will amend the Constitution of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions and will re-elect the national leading body of the trade unions of China, with the aim of strengthening the leadership of the trade unions throughout the whole country, to develop further the working-class movement, and to ensure the fulfilment and over-fulfilment of the tasks of national economic construction.

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Comrades! The Chinese working-class movement, under the leadership of the great Communist Party of China and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, after thirty years of bitter struggles, together with the entire Chinese people, and with the support of the great Soviet Union, the working class and all the progressive forces of the world, has finally achieved great victory in the people's revolution.

The victory of the Chinese working class and the entire people is the victory in China of the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Without Marxism-Leninism, without the leadership of the Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, there would have been no victory for the working class and the entire people of China.

The great, glorious and consistently correct Communist Party of China is the guarantee of our victory. The great Comrade Mao Tse-tung is the standard-bearer of victory of the Chinese working class and the entire people. This is a profound and at the same time simple truth, which has been well understood by the Chinese working class and the Chinese people from their own experience in their protracted struggles. If we are to consolidate the victory that we have already gained, and continue to march from victory to victory, we must then rally even more closely around the Communist Party of China and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, and redouble our efforts to study the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and the advanced experience of the Soviet Union in order to construct our country.

The interests of the Chinese working class and people are completely identical with those of the working class and people of the world.

The All-China Federation of Trade Unions, as a member of the World Federation of Trade Unions and under its leadership, has played an active part in striving for the unity and solidarity of the international working-class movement,

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

and in defence of peace in the Far East and all over the world.

The Chinese workers, led by the Communist Party of China and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, are not only great patriots, but at the same time great internationalists. In the struggle to continually consolidate their already gained victory and to strive for greater successes, the Chinese working class will further display to the full the spirit of patriotism combined with internationalism; unite with all the Chinese people to engage intensively in production and in the construction of our great Motherland. At the same time it will strive with redoubled efforts for unity with the world working class, play a more active part in the world working-class movement, and struggle in defence of peace in the Far East and all over the world.

The Chinese working class firmly believes that under the leadership of its own political party—the Communist Party of China—and its great leader Comrade Mao Tse-tung, with the close, lasting and solid alliance of our peasant brothers, with the unity of the people of all sections throughout the country, with the lasting and unbreakable friendship and co-operation with our great ally—the Soviet Union—and the People's Democracies, and with the friendship and unity between the Chinese people and all peace-loving peoples of the world who are fighting for a just cause, we shall be ever victorious.

Long live the great Chinese people!

Long live the great People's Republic of China!

Long live the great Chinese working class!

Long live the party of the Chinese working class, the great Communist Party of China!

Long live the great leader of the Chinese working class and the Chinese people, Comrade Mao Tse-tung!

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Long live the great teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin!

Long live the unity of the working class of the world!

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

REPORT ON THE TRADE UNION WORK IN CHINA

Lai Jo-yu

Delegates and Guests:

Many events of great historic significance have taken place in our country since the Sixth All-China Labour Congress of August 1948.

For over thirty years the Chinese working class, together with the Chinese people as a whole, have waged heroic struggles under the leadership of the Communist Party of China and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of the Chinese people, and succeeded in overthrowing the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism; liberating the mainland of China; and establishing the People's Republic of China, which is a people's democratic dictatorship, headed by the working class and based on the alliance of the workers and peasants.

As Comrade Mao Tse-tung stated in his opening address at the First Plenary Session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference: "Our nation from now on will enter the great family of peace and freedom-loving nations of the world. It will work bravely and industriously to create its own civilization and happiness and will, at the same time, promote world peace and freedom. Our nation will never again be an insulted nation. We have stood up."

The victory of the Chinese revolution dealt a heavy blow to world imperialism, greatly inspired the labouring people of the world, particularly the labouring people in the colonial and dependent countries, and added a mighty force to the camp of peace, democracy and socialism. This victory

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

changed the relative strength of the two camps in the present world situation.

When the American imperialists launched their war of aggression against Korea and threatened the sacred borders of our great Motherland, the Chinese working class together with the entire Chinese people immediately responded to the call of Comrade Mao Tse-tung and enthusiastically joined the struggle to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, so as to safeguard peace in the Far East and the whole world. We stood for a peaceful settlement of the Korean question. We supported the statements of Premier Chou En-lai, Prime Minister Kim Il Sung and Foreign Minister Molotov, calling for a peaceful settlement of the Korean question, and will continue our persistent and determined struggle for its peaceful settlement and for the safeguarding of peace in the Far East and the whole world.

Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, the Chinese working class and the entire Chinese people led by the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, have eliminated the remnant forces of the Kuomintang reactionaries and have carried out a series of social reforms.

With the completion of the agrarian reform, the economic basis of feudalism has been thoroughly smashed, and the productive forces in our vast country-side have been set free. The completion of democratic reform in state-owned factories, mines and other enterprises, has destroyed the old system of management originally employed by the reactionary rulers for oppressing and exploiting the workers and established instead a system of democratic management. The workers have become the real masters of the enterprises, and their activity and initiative have developed. The successes gained in the *San Fan* and *Wu Fan* movements have smashed the ruthless attack waged by the law-breaking elements of the

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

bourgeoisie against the working class and state organs, and have consolidated the leading position of state economy over private enterprises, and protected the legitimate rights of the workers in private enterprises. Because of the development of the campaign to increase production and practise economy, the struggle of the working class to raise labour productivity and the quantity and quality of products, and to reduce production costs has surged to a new high.

It is precisely because of these efforts that, within the short period of three years since the founding of the People's Republic of China, our country has completed its economic restoration, in spite of the fact that the struggle to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea is being carried on. Production in a majority of our industries has surpassed the highest levels of past years, prices throughout the country have been stabilized, and the financial situation has undergone a change for the better. The material and cultural well-being of the working class and the people as a whole has steadily improved and the people's democratic dictatorship is daily being consolidated, thus creating the conditions for the nation's large-scale planned construction.

Starting from this year, our great Motherland has embarked on the First Five-Year Plan of national construction.

The Chinese working class must unite more closely, consolidate the alliance of the workers and peasants and rally the people of all strata to meet the new and historic task under the leadership of the Communist Party of China.

I. The Main Developments in Trade Union Work in the Past Four Years

Comrades, allow me to recall the main developments in trade union work in the past four years before I touch upon

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

the fundamental tasks of our trade union work during the period of national construction.

At the time of the Sixth All-China Labour Congress, the People's Liberation Army was winning victory after victory in its liberation march across the entire country. The tidal wave of the people's revolution was sweeping throughout the land and the reactionary rule of the Kuomintang clique backed by American imperialism was then on the verge of total collapse.

At that time, the cardinal task of the Chinese working class was, first of all, to close its own ranks and then, by courageous struggle and in the spirit of self-sacrifice, to unite with the people of all strata to overthrow the reactionary rule of American imperialism and its lackey, the Kuomintang clique, and to establish the Chinese People's Republic.

The message of greetings from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China to the Sixth All-China Labour Congress pointed out:

> The task of the workers and office employees in the liberated areas is to restore and develop industry, to consolidate the liberated areas and to give support to the front in accordance with the noted economic policy of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, namely, "to develop production and bring about a prosperous economy through the policies of taking into account both public and private interests, of benefiting both labour and capital." The task of the workers and other employees in Kuomintang-ruled areas is to unite themselves as well as the entire people to fight against U.S. imperialism and bureaucratic capitalism, to act in co-ordination, whenever necessary and possible, with the victorious offensive of the People's Liberation Army, and to assist the democratic government in the orderly taking-over of the liberated cities. In order to accomplish these ends, it is necessary to

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

strengthen rapidly trade union work, to unite and educate the workers and other employees, so as to turn them into the leading force of the People's Democratic Republic.

After the Sixth All-China Labour Congress, a mighty battle was waged by the Chinese working class in accordance with the line laid down by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the resolutions adopted by the Congress. In spite of extremely difficult conditions, the workers in the liberated areas gave their support to the War of Liberation by working selflessly to increase production. In the Kuomintang-controlled areas, especially in such cities as Shanghai, Kunming, Chungking and so on, the workers succeeded in uniting the people of all strata, consolidated and extended the united front, and waged a fight against aggression, persecution and hunger. In the liberation of the various cities the workers gave battle heroically to protect factories, thus safeguarding the people's property.

In the liberated cities, the trade unions helped the People's Government to take over the enterprises owned by bureaucratic capital and then to carry out the necessary checking and accounting. They helped to transform the property of bureaucratic capitalism into the property of the people and to change such enterprises into enterprises of a socialist nature. Production was thus rapidly restored. At the same time political education was carried out among the workers which strengthened their understanding of their position as masters of the country and gradually established among them a new attitude towards labour.

The workers in private enterprises, in accordance with the policy "of developing production and benefiting both labour and capital," formed a united front with the national bourgeoisie, overcame difficulties, and succeeded in restor-

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

ing production beneficial to the national welfare and people's livelihood.

In order to meet the demands of the rapid development of the revolutionary situation, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions convened a National Conference on Trade Union Work in July, 1949, at which the question of organizing the workers on a nation-wide scale was discussed. In November of the same year, the Chinese Association of Labour, which was affiliated to the All-China Federation of Trade Unions as member organization, voluntarily proclaimed its dissolution. This further strengthened the unity of China's trade union organizations.

In June, 1950, the Trade Union Law of the People's Republic of China was promulgated by the Central People's Government which granted extensive rights to and placed heavy responsibilities upon trade union organizations.

Besides, the Communist Party of China sent many of its best members to participate in trade union work thereby greatly strengthening the activity of the trade unions. Consequently, the working-class movement developed rapidly on a national scale. Today, the Chinese trade unions have become a mighty force entirely under the leadership of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions.

After we had taken over the factories and mines from the enemy, the basic demands of the workers and the urgent need of the state were first and foremost the restoration and development of production. However, in these factories and mines bad elements and a vicious system which still remained were seriously hampering the growth and development of the labour enthusiasm of the masses. This called for a movement of democratic reform to be carried out in the course of the restoration of production, so as to eliminate the bad elements and the vicious system that were oppressing the workers. This movement which began in 1951 and developed

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

throughout the country was in the main completed on a national scale after the *San Fan* and *Wu Fan* movements. The democratic reform in the state-owned enterprises in Northeast China was completed earlier than in other areas as Northeast China had been liberated earlier. Consequently, in 1951, a mass movement to increase production and practise economy, to develop productive potentialities, to popularize advanced experiences and to implement the system of business accounting, was launched throughout Northeast China, and greatly raised labour productivity.

In other parts of the country, inspired by the Movement to Resist U.S. Aggression and Aid Korea, which was then everywhere on the upsurge, campaigns for patriotic pledges and labour emulation drives were developed extensively in co-ordination with the democratic reform, as a support for the Chinese People's Volunteers fighting in Korea.

In October 1951, at the Third Session of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, Chairman Mao Tse-tung pointed out:

> On the industrial and agricultural fronts, the growing patriotic movement to increase production has created a new atmosphere in our country, an atmosphere worthy of celebration.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung also issued a stirring call to the Chinese people to "increase production and practise economy in order to support the Chinese People's Volunteers." Hence, the patriotic movement to increase production and practise economy spread swiftly and widely throughout the country. Many model workers emerged from this movement and much advanced experience was gained. Within the past three years, over 489,000 rationalization proposals put forward by the workers have been adopted, thus raising labour productivity and creating and saving a great deal of money for the state. Apart from the patriotic movement to increase

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

production and practise economy, a series of measures were taken to perfect production management. At present, this work is still being carried on.

The basic aim of these measures for production management in the state-owned enterprises is to introduce planned management, to fix individual responsibility in production and to implement the system of business accounting.

This work must be co-ordinated with the labour emulation drives—the movement to increase production and practise economy, which is being carried on throughout the country.

In the last few years, our work has in the main followed the path mapped out by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the resolutions of the Sixth All-China Labour Congress. It should be pointed out, however, that the leadership of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions for a short period had committed mistakes of economist and syndicalist tendencies. These mistakes show themselves in the following aspects. In trade union work in state-owned enterprises, emphasis was laid on the so-called contradictions between public and private interests, rather than on the identity between workers' individual interests and the collective and long-term interests of the working class as a whole, while workers' welfare was placed as contradictory to the development of production. In trade union work in private enterprises, one-sided emphasis was laid on labour-capital consultation while neglecting the class contradiction between workers and capitalists. On the question of relations between the trade unions and the Party, there was a tendency in the trade unions of departing from the leadership of the Party. Further, in dealing with various concrete problems, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions adopted subjective working methods which were out of touch with reality and the masses. These deviations did not cause

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

serious damage, because they were quickly discovered and thoroughly corrected by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Comrade Mao Tse-tung. At the same time, trade unions in various localities, under the correct leadership of the local Communist Party organizations, did not accept much of the incorrect advice from the All-China Federation of Trade Unions. Therefore, we may be justified in saying that trade union work has played an important role during the process of the restoration of the national economy and has completed the tasks of the trade unions during this historical period.

II. Basic Tasks of Our Trade Union Work in the Construction Period

Comrades, our country has now entered a period of construction.

As stated above, China is a people's democracy led by the working class and based on the alliance of the workers and peasants. This very character of our state specifies that all the undertakings of our country, in their final analysis, are for raising and protecting the material and cultural well-being of the working class and the entire labouring people. The workers have been working as masters of the state in post-liberation China and have contributed to the restoration and development of the national economy, with the result that the material and cultural life of the working class and the entire labouring people has been markedly improved. Following further advances of our national economy, the welfare of the working class and the entire labouring people will assuredly be further promoted. The developments in the short space of time after the liberation have amply proved that in a state led by the working class the individual interests of the workers and the interests of the state are identical.

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

The immediate and sectional interests of the working class must be subordinated to the long-term and over-all interests of the state, that is, the interests of a state led by the working class. Only by following this principle will the working-class movement have a correct direction and will the working class be assured of a bright future. Conversely, if the long-term and over-all interests of the working class were sacrificed to its immediate and sectional interests, and economist mistakes were committed, then the trade unions would inevitably become narrow, scattered craft organizations, and the working class would be unable to reach the glorious future of communism.

Only when the masses of the workers really understand that their immediate and sectional interests must be subordinated to long-term and over-all interests, and strive militantly for the glorious future, will the genuine advancement of their consciousness be manifested. In order unceasingly to raise the level of the consciousness of the workers, the trade union cadres must, on the one hand, constantly pay attention to the well-being of the workers, and show them with living examples that the progress of history points to a bright future. On the other hand, they must untiringly educate and influence the workers in the spirit of communism, and integrate this with the personal experience of the masses in order to raise the ideological level of the workers, to integrate the individual interests of the workers with those of the state, and to integrate the working-class movement with the communist movement.

Only the trade union organizations and the working-class movement led by the Communist Party can achieve these ends.

The trade union organizations, therefore, must maintain close connections with the masses and rally the workers

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

around the Communist Party, serving as transmission belts between the Party and the masses.

The trade unions should first of all unite with the broad masses of the workers in production, that is to say, they must, under the leadership of the Communist Party, rally millions of workers consciously and actively to take part in national construction.

The working class, which has become the leading class of the state, not only shoulders the glorious task of fulfilling the industrial plan of the country, but also shoulders the heavy and important responsibility of helping to bring about the modernization of agricultural production. The trade unions must educate and organize the workers to strive for the fulfilment and over-fulfilment of the industrial plan of the country, and actively help the development of agricultural production, so as to consolidate the alliance of the workers and peasants. Only in this way will our socialist future be ensured.

In the period of national construction, the most important and fundamental tasks of our trade unions are, under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, to maintain connections with and educate the workers, to raise continuously their levels of consciousness and organization, to consolidate the alliance of the workers and peasants, to unite with the people of all strata and actively to fulfil the national plan of construction; then, on the basis of increased production, to improve step by step the material and cultural life of the working class and the entire labouring people, and to strive for the systematic realization of industrialization and the advancement towards socialism.

III. To Organize Mass Labour and Develop Labour Emulation

As has been said before, the trade unions under the people's democratic dictatorship are no longer the organizations

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

of the oppressed and governed class, but the mass organizations of the leading class which now holds political power.

The most important task of the trade unions is to unite and lead all workers, technical personnel and other employees so that they may consciously and actively develop production. For it is only through the development of production and the strengthening of our economic power that we can change the economic backwardness of our nation and gradually realize industrialization and advance towards a socialist society. It is only through the development of production that we can continually improve the material and cultural life of the working class and the entire people.

The fundamental method of the trade unions in developing production is to lead the masses step by step to take part in labour emulation, and, through the emulation drives, to develop to the highest degree the activity and creative initiative of the workers, technical personnel, and other employees; to improve labour organization, production processes, equipment and methods of operating machinery, and thus to raise labour productivity.

Labour emulation is an effective way of mobilizing the broad masses to achieve the targets of the state plan; it is the socialist and communist method of construction based on the highly developed consciousness of millions of people.

As Comrade Stalin put it:

> The most remarkable feature of emulation is the radical revolution it brings with it in men's views of labour, for it transforms labour from a degrading and painful burden, as it was regarded before, into a matter of honour, a matter of glory, of valour and heroism.

Among us workers, labour emulation has undergone several stages in its development in our country. In the earlier period after the liberation, although the enthusiasm of the workers was very high, the various reforms in the

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

enterprises had not yet been carried out; consequently the main feature of the emulation drives at that time was the increase of labour intensity. Shock tactics were widespread and frequently insufficient attention was paid to the quality of production and to labour protection. Such a phenomenon was generally unavoidable at that time. Viewed as a whole, labour emulation in those early days did, however, greatly stimulate production, although such emulation could not continue for long.

After the carrying out of democratic reform in the enterprises and the laying down of preliminary plans and norms of production, the emulation movement became a regular form of labour.

The main features of normal labour emulation are to emphasize the integration of labour and technique, the popularization of advanced experiences, the development of productive potentialities, the raising of labour productivity, the raising of output and quality, and to emphasize the importance of labour protection and technical safety.

The general process of development of labour emulation is from shock work to regular methods of work, from a low to a high level. It is the process of continuously raising the ideological consciousness and technical level of the masses, and is also the process of raising the backward elements in production to the level of the advanced.

At present many defects still exist in labour emulation. The main defects are as follows:

Firstly, in some factories and mines there is a tendency to be satisfied with the fulfilment of production plans "in general" or "in the main," to be satisfied with the fulfilment of the total amount of output, while neglecting to fulfil all targets of the plans, neglecting quality, and neglecting safety. Such emulation cannot be expected to fulfil the state production plans and can even cause serious wastage of

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

state property. Further, ups and downs in production and failure to fulfil production plans in a balanced way are also shortcomings most common in the emulation drives.

Secondly, in some factories and mines emulation drives are confined to issuing calls of a general character without seriously mobilizing the masses to discuss production plans, and to study and map out conditions of emulation. As a result, while emulation drives in these enterprises may be very showy in form, they are not very effective in developing production.

As to the labour emulation drive in these factories and mines, there is no examination of work, or summing up of experiences from the leadership. In extending advanced experiences, insufficient consideration is paid to their integration with the concrete situation of the enterprises, but, instead, a mechanical and formalist approach in popularizing advanced experiences is adopted. There are even cases where there is failure to give leadership, and the campaign is allowed to drift along by itself. Consequently the enthusiasm of the masses is dampened.

Thirdly, trade unions in some enterprises do not organize the workers to put forward rationalization proposals around the key problems in production and the technical and organizational measures of the managements, but blindly call on the workers, technical personnel and other employees for proposals. Consequently, there may be a lot of proposals, but the main problems in production are not solved, and the initiative and creativeness of the masses not effectively developed.

Fourthly, in many factories and mines no serious effort has been made to organize the technical and management personnel to join the emulation drives, with the result that technical leadership from the management departments lags far behind the enthusiasm of the masses.

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Fifthly, while organizing emulation, many factories and mines fail to seriously carry out penetrating and thorough political work. Arbitrary methods are frequently applied to deal with workers who are comparatively backward, while there are even shameful cases of submitting falsified reports to the leadership, in an attempt to win honour by deceit. The weakness in political work which furnished a hotbed of bourgeois ideology to some workers and staff members has hampered the normal development of emulation.

What then is the correct way of organizing emulation?

In the light of practical experiences of the last few years, attention should be paid to the following points in organizing labour emulation:

1. We must begin by mobilizing the workers, technical personnel and other employees to take part in discussions of state production plans. Our discussions must centre around the realization of these plans. We must increase the rate of utilization of equipment, economize on the use of raw materials, and develop the productive potentialities of the enterprises through improving labour organization, production processes and instruments of production. We must map out our advanced production, technical and financial plans on the basis of practical possibilities for increased output, improved quality and reduced production costs. We must map out, in accordance with the over-all plan, the concrete conditions—conditions of emulation—for each workshop, each team and each individual to ensure their fulfilment and to strive for their over-fulfilment. Without production plan there can be no real content in any emulation drive, which would definitely remain in form only.

After the plans have been mapped out we should encourage the masses to put forward rationalization proposals and solutions related to the key problems of production

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

around the various technical measures adopted by the managements with the aim of ensuring fulfilment of the plans.

During the discussions we must enable the broad masses of workers to understand fully the great significance of the state production plan for our national development and the well-being of the people, to understand concretely what is required of their enterprises by the economic development of our country, and enable everyone to realize the importance of drawing up advanced production and financial plans and advanced production norms, and of improving the management of their enterprises.

This is in fact drawing the broad masses into studying and participating in the management of the enterprises, which is also a most practical lesson in communism. Only then will the actions of the masses for the fulfilment of the production plan become their conscious actions.

Conscious labour discipline is founded on such a basis. This kind of conscious labour discipline and communist attitude towards labour is the surest guarantee of the fulfilment of the state plan.

2. One of the important conditions for the correct leadership of labour emulation lies in the timely discovery and practical support of all that is new and advanced, the study, summing up and popularization of advanced experiences, especially those of the Soviet Union, the raising of technical levels and occupational capacities of the workers, technical personnel and other employees, and the thorough implementation and constant improvement of technological process.

In extending advanced experiences, encouragement and support should be given to innovations of advanced production workers and model workers; we should help them to overcome all kinds of difficulties and resistance in order to educate the backward workers with their example and

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

thus to raise, step by step, the level of the backward workers to that of the advanced.

"In the struggle between the new and the old, between the advanced and the backward, the important thing is not only to perceive the forces that are recreating the new social system, but also constantly to rear these forces, to see that they are developed to the utmost, tirelessly to organize and improve them in order to ensure our further forward movement." (Malenkov)

3. The holding of meetings to discuss problems in production is the best form of mass organization for the development of emulation drives, the popularization of advanced experiences and the improvement of management of the enterprises. At present, in the course of introducing reforms in production management, many enterprises are holding various kinds of production meetings to bring out the views of the masses and thus to solve all types of problems in production.

It is necessary to set up the system of holding such meetings of a mass character regularly and turn them into mighty weapons for organizing the masses for production. Such production meetings have played, and are still playing, an important role in the Soviet trade union movement. They are the best way to develop the enthusiasm and creativeness of the masses of workers.

We should learn from Soviet experiences to establish the system of holding regular production meetings, taking into consideration the experiences already gathered in various factories and mines.

After the systems for planned management and production norms have been initially completed in factories and mines, production meetings for teams and workshops, joint production meetings between different teams and workshops, production meetings concerned with specialized trades,

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

and representative production meetings of whole factories, should be organized in a planned way.

All these meetings should discuss production plans, assist the managements of enterprises to overcome all sorts of difficulties and develop criticism and self-criticism in order to wipe out defects in production management.

4. The signing of collective agreements has a significant bearing on the clarifying of emulation targets and assurance of the fulfilment of the state plan, on the systematic improvement of the material and cultural life of the workers, and also on the raising of labour enthusiasm. By means of collective agreements, individual and state interests in state-owned enterprises can be closely and concretely linked up. Therefore collective agreements should be signed in good time in the various enterprises.

Collective agreements should include production plans and set out the obligations of the managements and trade unions towards each other during the course of production and in the completion of production plans. Contents of the agreements should be extensively discussed by the masses in connection with the production plans, so that they may become the programme of conscious action on the part of the masses.

After the preliminary completion of a new system of management and the authorization of definite production plans and production norms, collective agreements may be concluded. Their contents may vary in accordance with the different concrete conditions of the various factories and mines, from simple outlines to minute details, from being incomplete to complete, and should be constantly substantiated and improved. At the same time joint agreements may be concluded between individual workshops, and between the major production departments and auxiliary production departments in order to keep a balance in

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

production and to ensure the realization of the collective agreements.

IV. Gradually to Raise and Improve the Material and Cultural Life of the Workers, Technical Personnel and Other Employees on the Basis of Developing Production

Under the care of the great leader of the Chinese people, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, and the Central People's Government, outstanding improvements have been made in the material and cultural life of the broad masses of the workers following the restoration and development of production.

In state-owned enterprises, the unreasonable wage system left over from Kuomintang bureaucratic capitalism has been basically removed. In a majority of enterprises, a reasonable system of grading wages has been put into effect and wage standards raised year after year. The wages of workers and other employees in state-owned enterprises in 1952 were 60% to 120% higher than the 1949 levels. In private enterprises, wage levels and the wage system have also been improved.

At the same time the improvements in the living conditions of the workers are seen not only in higher wage levels. The stabilization of commodity prices and the initiation of various social welfare activities and other undertakings to promote the well-being of the workers are all important factors in improving the lives of the workers. These factors are increasing day by day.

In Northeast China, which was liberated earlier than other parts of China, labour insurance was introduced in 1949. In 1951, the Central People's Government promulgated the Labour Insurance Regulations which have been carried out throughout the country in all public and private enterprises employing 100 or more workers. In many enter-

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

prises with less than 100 workers, labour insurance contracts have been concluded. Labour insurance in our country is entirely financed by the managements or owners of enterprises. The amount expended by the state in 1952 alone for labour insurance was more than 1,600,000 million yuan (approximately £23,000,000).

The state is also continuously improving working conditions of the workers in factories and mines. Various safety and sanitation measures for workers have been adopted. In 1952, in Northeast China alone, the state appropriated 1,283,000 million yuan (approximately £18,600,000) for the improvement of working conditions of the workers. Regulations and systems relating to safety and sanitation have been established in the main and are being gradually put into effect. It is particularly noteworthy that many general inspections and inspections at specific points on the safety and sanitation conditions have been carried out in various regions and cities. These inspections have given practical education in industrial safety to the cadres and the masses and have inspired the mass movement for industrial safety. In this way great improvements in the conditions of safety and sanitation have been brought about in the state-owned factories and mines, resulting in a yearly decline in the rate of injury, disease and mortality among the workers. In private enterprises, as a result of the leadership of the People's Government and the supervision of the trade union organizations, notable progress has also been made in safety and sanitation conditions.

There are now more than 3,000 workers' sanatoria, rest homes, creches, overnight rest homes, homes for the aged, and other collective welfare undertakings, established either by direct state investment or out of the appropriations from the directors' funds and labour insurance funds.

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

People's governments and trade union organizations at all levels are using every means to improve the housing conditions of the workers, and in many cities living quarters for workers have been built. In 1952 alone, the state appropriated 2,860,000 million yuan (about £41,600,000) to build living quarters for one million workers.

The continuous improvement of the material and cultural well-being of the working class has greatly heightened its enthusiasm for production and has strongly developed the movement for labour emulation.

The trade union organizations must consistently pay attention to making all possible improvements in the material and cultural well-being of the workers. As pointed out by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, it is necessary to improve step by step the workers' livelihood on the basis of increased production. Comrade Mao Tse-tung also taught us:

> At the same time as we increase production and practise economy, attention must be paid to safety, health, and the indispensable amenities of the workers and other employees. It is completely wrong to take note only of the first aspect while forgetting or even slightly neglecting the second aspect.

Experience proves that it is only when the masses of the workers have been first mobilized for the fulfilment of the state production plan, for accumulation of capital in enterprises, and for increasing the wealth of the state to extend re-production, is it possible to improve their material and cultural well-being. Divorced from production, any talk of welfare is empty and erroneous, for no one can possibly enjoy what has not yet been produced.

Our country must first invest a huge amount of capital in capital construction and industrialization which aims at extending production. Although the material and cultural well-being of the workers is raised year by year, there will

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

inevitably be problems which cannot be completely solved for the time being. We must clearly explain to the workers what problems relating to their daily living can be solved and to what extent, what problems cannot be solved and to what extent, and what can and will be completely solved in the future when production is highly developed.

Some trade union officials fail to really understand these facts, or fail to adopt a serious and responsible attitude in dealing with these problems, with the result that there are now two erroneous deviations:

Firstly, an economist tendency.

In the matter of welfare and living conditions of the workers account is not taken of the actual possibilities and needs. In dealing with wage problems, an equalitarian outlook is adopted in contravention of the principle of "to each according to his work." In carrying out labour insurance, some trade union workers are over-ambitious, and show blind adventurism out of proportion to the practical requirements of the masses. Sometimes they make unreasonable stipulations in relation to the disbursement of labour insurance funds. Notwithstanding that a large labour insurance fund has been accumulated, they still place excessive demands on the management of enterprises, thus not only increasing the expenditure of the state but also alienating the trade union organizations from the masses. In the field of cultural and educational work, the policy of serving production has not been clearly understood.

The prolonged and persistent existence of this erroneous economist tendency is primarily due to an apolitical tendency in trade union work. The political and ideological leadership of many trade union organizations is weak, failing to carry out consistent and practical communist education among the workers. Once there is a deviation from communist

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

ideology, the working-class movement will inevitably move towards economism.

Secondly, a bureaucratic method of work which cares little about the hardships in the lives of the workers.

At places where trade union organizations are led by bureaucratic elements, a number of reasonable and urgent demands of the workers, many of which can be satisfied or even can easily be solved, are not solved or not solved in time. On the question of living quarters for workers, there has been a lot of empty talk about socialist standards instead of trying to meet the actual existing situation by adopting simpler and cheaper methods to provide more houses for the workers. On the other hand, some of the so-called cheap houses are completely shoddy jobs, which are a waste of state property and cannot solve any practical problem. On the question of medical service, some enterprises hoard medical funds and fail to provide obtainable medical equipment and the trade unions fail to exercise necessary supervision. On the question of wages, some trade unions do not seriously study those unjust wage systems which can and should be readjusted, and do not make suggestions and help the managements of enterprises to deal with them. On the question of workers' cultural life, they ignore the rising demands of the workers for culture and recreation, and do not develop the cultural and recreational activities of the masses in accordance with actual possibilities.

This kind of bureaucratic method of work which shows indifference to the hardships of the workers is utterly wrong and must be resolutely opposed. It should not be allowed to continue under the pretext of combating economist tendency.

In improving the material and cultural well-being of the workers, the following points should be observed:

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

1. It is necessary to carry out in production the line of industrial safety and improvement of working conditions and to pay attention to solving specific problems with regard to women workers and apprentices.

2. In setting up collective welfare establishments, consideration should be given to actual needs and possibilities. Blind adventurism, over-ambitiousness and impractical approaches should be avoided.

3. Trade union organizations must study the wage policy of the Party and the Government, give assistance to the management or owners of enterprises to improve further the wage system, gradually and reasonably formulate technical standards and fix definite production norms, carry out the wage principle of "to each according to his work," and help the managements of the enterprises in a planned way to introduce the piece-rate wage system, and the bonus system for workers receiving time wages.

V. To Carry Out Systematic Political, Technical and General Education Among Workers

In the past few years the trade unions have consistently educated the broad masses of the workers in the spirit of patriotism and internationalism. Particularly during the last year, many trade union organizations have, in a comparatively systematic way, carried out communist education among the workers and have repeatedly explained the identity of individual and state interests, thus establishing among them a correct attitude towards labour and a strengthened labour discipline based on their consciousness and understanding of being masters of the state.

With the development of production, the requirements of workers for general and technical education are also growing. Much work has been done by trade unions in organizing workers to take part in general educational and

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

technical studies. They have assisted the managements of the enterprises in establishing 16,277 spare-time schools, at which 3,087,000 workers have studied and 535,000 illiterate workers have learnt to read and write. They have also assisted the managements in establishing various spare-time classes for technical studies and technical research societies. All these are for the purpose of promoting technical education among the workers. Workers studying in spare-time technical classes number 477,000 while the number of workers studying full-time in technical schools amounts to 56,000. Numerous books, newspapers and periodicals are published for the benefit of the workers. The Workers' Publishing Press alone, operated by the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, published 339 different kinds of books and periodicals amounting to over 35,574,000 copies during the period from September 1949 to March 1953.

With the support of the People's Government, the trade union organizations in various localities have established clubs and cultural palaces for the education and cultural and sport activities of the workers. Various spare-time cultural activities of a mass character are developed to enrich and improve their cultural life.

However, propaganda and education in the trade unions as such are still fairly weak, and have not met with the workers' cultural and technical requirements. Systematic political and ideological education and consistent education on current affairs and policies in particular leave much to be desired. There are also tendencies of over-ambitiousness and blind adventurism in carrying out general education among the workers. Some trade union workers like to set up large-scale cultural palaces, while neglecting small clubs and "Red Corners" which can be easily established. In some places, the campaign to wipe out illiteracy has not

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

proceeded steadily, but is carried out in an impetuous way. Consequently, the results are not consolidated.

So, henceforth we must carry out the following tasks:

Firstly, we must intensify communist education and current affairs and policy studies among the workers and continuously raise the level of consciousness of the working class. The composition of the working class is complicated, and bourgeois ideology is continuously infiltrating into our midst. Along with the development of industry, large numbers of small producers and elements from other classes will constantly flow into the ranks of the working class, and it is only natural that the small producers' traditional indiscipline, narrowness, selfishness and guild inclinations will have strong influence upon the working class. Therefore, it is necessary to carry out unceasingly among the working class education in Marxism-Leninism and the teaching of Comrade Mao Tse-tung on the Chinese revolution, and to raise continuously their class consciousness in order to consolidate the leading position of the working class and ensure the fulfilment of the production plans of the state.

Secondly, we must follow the directions of Comrade Mao Tse-tung to mobilize the workers, technical personnel and other employees to learn from the Soviet Union. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has instructed us:

> We are going to carry out our great national construction. The work facing us is hard and we do not have enough experience. So we must seriously study the advanced experience of the Soviet Union. Whether inside or outside the Communist Party, old or new cadres, technicians, intellectuals, workers or peasants, we must all learn whole-heartedly from the Soviet Union. We must learn not only the theories of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin but also the advanced

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

scientific techniques of the Soviet Union. There must be a great nation-wide upsurge of learning from the Soviet Union to build our country.

Thirdly, we must carry out technical and general education, eliminate illiteracy in a planned and systematic way, and raise the cultural level of the workers so as to enable them to master more advanced and complicated technique. It is also necessary to raise the skill of the workers, to carry on education in technical theory among skilled workers, and methodically to develop technical and administrative personnel from the workers.

Fourthly, trade union organizations should make full use of clubs and cultural palaces as places for mass education, develop sport activities and link the political, technical and cultural education of the workers with their demands for proper entertainment and rest.

VI. Thoroughly to Carry Out the Policy of Developing Production and of Benefiting Both Labour and Capital; Successfully to Carry Out Trade Union Work in Private Enterprises

Comrade Mao Tse-tung in his work *On New Democracy* has pointed out:

> The state economy in a new-democratic republic under the leadership of the proletariat is of a socialist nature. It is the leading force of the entire national economy. But this people's republic does not confiscate private capitalist properties nor does it forbid the development of capitalist production which does not exercise dominant influence over the people's livelihood. This is due to the fact that China's economy is still very backward.

In view of this situation, the policy of "developing production and bringing about a prosperous economy through

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

the policies of taking into account both public and private interests and of benefiting both labour and capital" was formulated.

In the early period following the liberation, the working class, under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, correctly carried out the policy of forming a united front with the national bourgeoisie and assisted the latter in overcoming difficulties, thereby contributing to the restoration and development of production.

Later, however, a few law-breaking elements of the bourgeoisie did a lot of evils which violated state laws and decrees and were extremely harmful to the national welfare and the people's livelihood.

In 1952, the Chinese working class, together with the entire people, led by the Central People's Government, conducted the *Wu Fan* movement against bribery, tax evasion, theft of state property, cheating on government contracts and stealing economic information for private speculation. They defeated the frantic attacks of the bourgeoisie, consolidated the financial and economic discipline of the state and the leading position of the working class, thereby keeping the private enterprises within the bounds stipulated by the Common Programme.

In co-ordination with, and after the *Wu Fan* movement, democratic reforms and certain reforms in business management were carried out in many private factories, mines and enterprises, resulting in a new situation in industry.

In some enterprises, however, business remains slack due to bad management; a handful of law-breaking capitalists have even transferred their capital, locked out workers, stopped food-supplies, detained payment of wages, and adopted a hostile attitude towards the workers. At the same time, in certain other enterprises, the workers have only a one-

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

sided understanding of welfare. Consequently, labour-capital relations in some districts and trades are not normal.

The trade union organizations in private enterprises must also regard as their central task the successful development of production. Development of production represents the highest interest of the working class because the latter has become the leading class of the state. Trade union organizations should improve business management and successfully develop production, by means of labour-capital consultative conferences and the signing of labour-capital contracts; then, on this basis, solve as far as possible and necessary all questions relating to the welfare of the workers. We must carry out mass supervision over, and necessary struggles against, the various illegal activities of the capitalists, such as violation of state laws and policy, oppression of workers and disruption of unity among the workers. The trade unions in private enterprises should carry out constant education among the workers, constantly maintain the political vigilance of the working class and retain the purity of the leading organs of the trade unions. At the same time, the trade unions and the workers must have a correct grasp of state laws and policy and must observe correct policies and methods of work.

VII. To Strengthen the Building of Trade Unions

At present, the trade union organizations in our country are completely unified, headed by the All-China Federation of Trade Unions. The Federation consists of 23 industrial unions (of which ten have national committees, eight have working committees and five have preparatory committees), 180,000 basic organizations, with a total membership of 10,200,000.

Throughout the country, the workers have been in the main organized, while their family members are also

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

beginning to become organized. There are now 223,000 model workers and advanced production workers in our country.

In the last few years, schools for trade union cadres alone have trained 111,000 cadres. The trade unions have recommended 107,000 members as cadres to the Communist Party and the People's Government. About 124,000 workers have been promoted to technical and administrative positions, including 7,800 factory directors and deputy directors.

The trade union organizations in our country have become powerful transmission belts between the Communist Party and the broad masses of the workers. They are a strong social pillar of the People's Democratic Dictatorship.

Naturally, taking our trade union work as a whole, many problems still exist in regard to ideological and organizational developments. It is necessary to carry out systematic and penetrating ideological work to overcome the influences of various non-proletarian ideologies, so that the working class whose ranks are growing rapidly and trade union workers can unite as one and devote their efforts to the great cause of industrializing our country. It is necessary to study further the concrete tasks of trade unions in the period of national construction.

At present the organizational structure cannot meet the demands of the construction period, and must be strengthened. In a number of basic organizations, no regular order of work has been established, and democratic life is not very sound; many committees and groups exist only on paper; criticism and self-criticism are not developed; absence from work without due reasons and violations of labour discipline have not been opposed or met with punishment; no serious work has been carried out among technical personnel and office employees. All this must be seriously dealt with.

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

On the question of establishing industrial unions, there has been a tendency towards blind ambitiousness. Too many industrial unions were set up hurriedly. And when this mistake was criticized, some cadres tended to neglect the importance of industrial unions. We have not seriously studied, summed up and learnt from the experiences of trade union work at the capital construction sites and newly established enterprises, and the work of training and educating new workers, which is of extreme importance in the construction period and in which we are inexperienced; not enough attention has been paid to educating activists on a large scale and in a planned way. The ideological level and competence of trade union workers must be raised. In order to shoulder our great and difficult historical tasks, the trade unions must strengthen their ideological and organizational developments, and continuously raise the level of consciousness and organization of the workers.

How shall we strengthen the work of building up trade unions?

According to the experiences gained in the last few years and the actual needs at present, we must observe the following points in building up trade unions during the period of national construction:

Firstly, we should keep close contact with the masses and bring about a sound democratic life under proper leadership. Close contact with the masses is the most important and fundamental condition for the successful completion of trade union work. Any tendency to deviate from the masses is extremely dangerous. Trade union organizations must fully develop democracy, criticism and self-criticism, and carry out self-education; only in this way will they closely link themselves with the broad masses of the workers, develop their creative initiative and strengthen their organization and discipline on the basis of their consciousness.

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Trade union workers must clearly understand these points and also, in practice, go deep among the masses, listen to their opinions, understand their way of thinking, their moods and their demands, and satisfy their demands in accordance with practical needs and possibilities. As to those suggestions and demands raised by the workers which cannot be solved for the time being or which are incorrect, it is necessary to convince and educate the masses with patience, and no arbitrary or ruthless method should be adopted to deny these suggestions or demands. At the same time, it is necessary to establish definite democratic systems and to establish a sound system of group meetings in the trade unions, to give regular reports on the work and the financial condition of the trade unions in order to place the entire trade union work under the close supervision of the masses and to overcome bureaucracy and commandism.

Secondly, we must strengthen our work at the capital construction sites, in the newly established factories and mines and among new workers.

Where capital construction is in progress, special attention should be paid to intensifying the political education of the workers, to ensuring precision in surveying and designing, to improving labour organization and working methods so as to achieve speed, quality and economy.

We must assist the management in preparing the establishment of new factories and mines and in the training of technical workers, to ensure the opening and production of new factories and mines according to schedule. We must intensify ideological education during the course of the experimental production of new products to ensure their standard of quality.

We must carry out education in technical safety and labour discipline among the new workers and constantly

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

help them to solve their difficulties in questions of technique and daily life.

Thirdly, we must put the work in the basic trade union organizations on a sound basis. Trade union cadres must clearly understand the direction to squarely "face production, face the basic organizations, face the masses," study economic and production knowledge, go down to the workshops and production teams, find out the crucial problems in production, thoroughly carry out the policy of reward and commendation, educate activists, mobilize all the workers, eliminate conservative ideologies and consolidate labour discipline, in order to ensure the fulfilment and over-fulfilment of production plans, and at the same time, show close concern over the material and cultural life of the workers.

In strengthening the work of the basic organizations, it is necessary to devote attention to work among the technical personnel and office employees, particularly to work among the technicians.

Since the liberation, as a result of the work of the Communist Party of China and various mass movements, great changes have taken place among technical personnel. Large numbers of workers have been promoted technicians and a large proportion of the technical personnel now consists of young technicians who have accepted the new ideology. The majority of the old-type technical personnel, having learnt practical lessons through the various political movements and social reforms, have also undergone important changes in their ideology. We should go one step further to cooperate whole-heartedly, sincerely and patiently with the technical personnel in order to bring about closer coordination of technique and labour, enabling the technical personnel to make greater contributions to the cause of national construction.

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

In order to bring success to the above-mentioned work in the basic organizations, it is necessary, under the leadership of the Communist Party of China and in close co-operation with the managements and the Youth League, to strengthen organization and planning in this work in order to establish a normal order of work and to map out reasonable schedules for spare-time activities. Above all, it is necessary for everyone to study seriously and popularize the experience of the Wu San Factory.

Fourthly, we must strengthen the industrial unions in a planned and systematic way. Only through this can we improve our co-ordination with the management in thoroughly studying problems in production, summing up experiences, organizing mass production work, and, in accordance with the special features of the industry, concretely solve the question of labour protection and the welfare of the workers.

Of course, in strengthening the industrial unions today, it is still necessary to proceed step by step, taking into consideration specific points of emphasis in national construction, the development and practical needs of the various industries.

At the same time, acting on the above-mentioned principles, trade unions in different localities should also take into consideration the conditions of the various industries in the locality in deciding upon points of emphasis.

The strengthening of industrial unions does not mean a denial of the role of the local trade unions. As the industrial unions cannot be all established and consolidated within a short period, especially as dispersed handicraft industries exist and will continue to exist on a large scale for a long time, and because it is impossible to establish industrial unions for these handicraft trades, the local trade unions will continue to play an important role and should not be weakened. The strengthening of industrial unions will

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

strengthen the leadership of the local trade unions in production and over the scattered basic organizations in factories and mines, and over the handicraft undertakings.

Trade unions in small cities and towns should pay full attention to the characteristics of the handicraft workers in various trades and regions. We must not apply mechanically the forms of organization, working methods and targets used among industrial workers to the handicraft workers. We must not confuse the relations between labour and capital with the handicraft employment relations (the relations of a mutual-aid character between workers and the independent producers who employ workers because of necessity in production) and the relations between the craftsman and his apprentices.

Fifthly, we must develop and train a large number of trade union activists. At present, the leading organs of the trade union organizations at all levels still lack the necessary number of cadres who have close contact with the masses and who are equipped with knowledge of production. This hinders the deeper development of trade union work.

As further progress is made in our national construction, this situation will become even more serious. Therefore all trade union organizations should bring to the forefront the question of education and training, in a planned way, of activists and cadres. They should also intensify the education of cadres at work, and raise their ideological level and occupational capacities. Thus the trade union organizations will be improved and strengthened.

VIII. To Fight for Unity and Solidarity of the International Working Class and for a Lasting World Peace

The victory of the Chinese working class and the Chinese people, and their great achievements in economic restoration are inseparable from the assistance of the working class and

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

other labouring people of the world, particularly the selfless assistance of the Soviet working class, the Soviet people and the Soviet Government. Assistance from the working class of various countries, particularly from the Soviet Union, will continue to be an important condition for success in our construction.

The All-China Federation of Trade Unions is a loyal member of the World Federation of Trade Unions. It earnestly carries out the resolutions of the WFTU, regards the struggle to develop and consolidate the unity and solidarity of the international working class as its great and important international task.

In November 1949, the World Federation of Trade Unions convened the Asian and Australasian Trade Union Conference in Peking. The Conference summed up the experiences of the struggles of the working class in Asian and Australasian countries, and pointed out that the task for the working class under the then existing conditions was to strive for national liberation and the liberation of the working class itself. The Conference clearly defined the correct relations between the international working-class movement and the working-class movement in colonial and dependent countries. It has promoted the development of the working-class movement in Asia and Australasia and the unity and solidarity in the movement.

In October of this year, the World Federation of Trade Unions will convene the 3rd World Congress of Trade Unions. We warmly welcome this move. We are confident that it will make gigantic contributions in promoting solidarity and united action among the working class the world over.

The Chinese working class has boundless sympathy with its class brothers in the capitalist, colonial and dependent countries who are subjected to a life of misery and persecu-

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

tion. We are under obligation to support their heroic struggles for national independence and people's democracy.

The Chinese trade unions have maintained fraternal contact with the working class of 50 countries, including the Soviet Union, the People's Democracies as well as capitalist, colonial and dependent countries. During these last four years, we have sent many delegations to take part in various international trade union activities sponsored by the World Federation of Trade Unions. At the same time, we have also invited delegates from 28 countries, including the Soviet Union, the People's Democracies as well as capitalist, colonial and dependent countries to visit China and have exchanged experiences in all fields, thus furthering mutual understanding and friendship.

The friendly relations between the working class of China and the working class of other countries have strengthened the international solidarity of the working class in the Far East and throughout the world. The fact that our Congress is honoured with the presence of so many trade union delegates from other countries shows the growing solidarity and friendship between the working class of China and other countries.

On behalf of the Chinese trade unions and the Chinese workers, I warmly salute our foreign friends attending the Congress. We firmly believe that their presence will further promote the solidarity of the working class in the Far East and the world.

The Chinese working class regards the safeguarding of peace in the Far East and in the world as its own sacred duty.

With their practical action, the Chinese workers supported and continue to support the struggle waged by the Chinese People's Volunteers and the Korean People's Army against aggression. Among the various mines, factories

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

and other enterprises of the whole country, the Chinese trade union organizations have extensively unfolded a signature movement against the remilitarization of West Germany and Japan and for safeguarding world peace. They will continue to wage a determined struggle to safeguard peace in the Far East and in the whole world.

The great, unbreakable friendship between the Chinese and the Soviet peoples is a powerful support to the unity of the working class of the whole world. This unity is indispensable to the struggle for lasting peace and universal security.

As Comrade Stalin taught us:

> The great friendship between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China is a reliable guarantee against the threat of new aggression, and a strong bastion for peace in the Far East and in the world.

And as Comrade Mao Tse-tung taught us:

> The reason that the great friendship between the peoples of China and the Soviet Union is unbreakable is because it is based on the great principles of internationalism of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. The friendship between the peoples of China and the Soviet Union and the peoples of the various People's Democracies as well as that between all people who love peace, democracy and justice in every country of the world is also built upon this great principle of internationalism and is therefore also unbreakable.
>
> Clearly, the forces born of such friendship are unlimited, inexhaustible and truly invincible.

The international mission of the Chinese trade unions is to strive persistently for the strengthening of unity and solidarity of the working-class movement in the Far East and the world, and for lasting peace. We shall strive to overcome the difficulties and defects existing in our work

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

so as to be able to contribute even more towards the world working-class movement.

Comrades! Our country has already entered a new epoch of economic construction. The working class of the entire country will dedicate itself to the tidal wave of national construction and create with its heroic labour a more prosperous future.

We have the correct leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, our brilliant and great leader, and the Communist Party of China, long tried and tested in struggle. We have the selfless assistance of our great ally, the Soviet Union. We have the support of all the People's Democracies and the working class of the world. We have friends all over the world. We have fully confidence in the fulfilment of our great task in striving for the nation's industrialization and for the future of socialism.

Long live the Chinese working class!

Long live the great People's Republic of China!

Long live the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China!

Long live Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of the Chinese people!

Long live the victory of the great teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin!

Long live the unity of the working class of the world!

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

REPORT ON THE AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE TRADE UNIONS OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

Hsu Chih-chen

Delegates and Comrades:

Our country has, from the period of economic restoration, rapidly entered the period of large-scale planned economic construction. The level of consciousness and organization of the Chinese workers have also been unprecedentedly raised following the victory of the Chinese people's revolution. The historic task of the Chinese working-class movement set forth by the Sixth All-China Labour Congress has been successfully fulfilled. The Constitution of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions adopted by the Sixth Labour Congress is no longer in conformity with the changed and developed situation today; it should be modified and supplemented in accordance with the new situation and the newly gained experiences of the working class. The Constitution adopted by the Sixth Labour Congress was entitled "The Constitution of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions." In view of the founding of the People's Republic of China, and the fact that the trade union organizations throughout China are now completely unified, it is first of all necessary to change the title "The Constitution of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions" into the "Constitution of the Trade Unions of the People's Republic of China."

Explanations on some essential points concerning the amendment to the Constitution are given in the following:

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

I. Concerning the Nature, Tasks and Role of the Trade Unions Under the People's Democratic Dictatorship

The nature, tasks and role of the trade unions under the people's democratic dictatorship were laid down in principle in the resolutions of the Sixth All-China Labour Congress in the form of provisions on the policy and tasks of the trade union movement in the liberated areas. These provisions were correct. However, being limited by the historical conditions of that time, the Constitution of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions adopted by the Sixth Labour Congress was unable to define comprehensively the nature, tasks and role of the trade unions. Therefore, in amending the Constitution this time, it is necessary to set forth more clearly provisions concerning these fundamental issues.

The trade unions of China are the mass organizations of the Chinese working class. They must firmly preserve their nature as class organizations of the working class. They must draw a clear demarcation line between the working class and the exploiting class and distinguish the working class from the independent producers (independent producers are also labourers, but being owners of small business and not wage earners, they are different from the working class), and unswervingly preserve the class character and purity of the trade union organizations.

It was after the founding of the Chinese Communist Party and under its direct leadership that the modern working-class movement of China has since developed. This is one of the characteristics of the Chinese working-class movement as well as one of its fine traditions. The brilliant great Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese Communist Party are the banner of victory of the Chinese working class and the entire people. Without the Chinese Communist Party, there would have been no modern revolutionary working-class movement in China, and without the leadership of the

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Party, there would have been no victory for the Chinese people. The trade unions of China, led by the Party, have rallied the broad masses of the workers around the Party and the great Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

The Chinese trade unions are the mass organizations of the working class formed on a voluntary basis, along the industrial lines and on the principles of democratic centralism, without distinction of nationality, sex or religious beliefs. All join the trade unions of their own volition. Only when the trade unions are formed on such a voluntary basis can the mass character of the trade union organizations be ensured, the trade unions be genuinely made the organizations of the masses of the workers, the Constitution of the Trade Unions be consciously observed by the workers, the discipline of the trade unions be maintained, and the potential role of the trade unions in national construction be developed.

Under the reactionary rule of the Kuomintang, prior to the nation-wide victory of the revolution of the Chinese working class and the entire Chinese people, the tasks of the trade unions were to organize and educate the workers under the leadership of the Communist Party, and to struggle for the overthrow of the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism. At that time, the working class was oppressed, exploited, ruled and pauperized. To maintain a bare living, the workers had to toil for the reactionary rulers and exploiters and suffer from appalling working conditions and brutal exploitation. At that time it was necessary for the trade unions to lead the workers to wage both legal and illegal economic struggles under every possible and favourable condition, and to link these struggles closely with the political struggle. At that time all economic struggles waged by the trade unions had political significance.

Now, the situation is entirely different. The working class of China is the leading class of the state. Under the

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

people's democratic dictatorship, the policy, tasks and role of the trade unions have undergone a fundamental change following the great historic change. It would be entirely wrong to continue at present the policy, tasks and method of work of the trade unions adopted under Kuomintang rule without taking this change into account. In essence this error would mean a confusion of the state power of the people's democratic dictatorship with that of the reactionary Kuomintang, a confusion of the relationship between the working class and state-owned enterprises which are already of a socialist nature and with that between the working class and the capitalist enterprises under the Kuomintang regime. This confusion would inevitably lead to conflict between the working class and the state power led by itself as well as conflict between the working class and the socialist enterprises possessed by itself, and lead to economism and syndicalism.

After the nation-wide victory of the revolution of the Chinese working class and the Chinese people, the basic task of the trade unions is to protect the fruits of victory of the people and to consolidate the state power of people's democracy. The development of production and the struggle for industrialization are the central issues in the consolidation of the people's democracy. These are to the best interest of the working class and the entire Chinese people, and serve as a fundamental guarantee for our country to advance gradually from New Democracy to a socialist society.

Therefore, the trade unions under the people's democratic dictatorship must consider the improvement of production as their central task, and on this basis, gradually improve the material and cultural life of the workers.

The working class is the master of the state-owned enterprises which are of a socialist nature. The workers have the sacred responsibility for improving production and ensuring

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

the fulfilment or over-fulfilment of the state production plans. In the enterprises jointly operated by state and private capital and in those specially detailed for doing processing work for the state, the workers also have the great responsibility to improve production, and at the same time to supervise the implementation of contracts, to fight against illegal acts of the capitalists, such as doing shoddy work, using inferior material, and evading taxes. In the privately-owned enterprises of a capitalist nature, although class antagonism still exists and the workers still suffer a certain degree of exploitation, yet under present conditions, the existence of those private enterprises which are beneficial and not detrimental to the national welfare and people's livelihood is still necessary. Therefore, the trade unions in the private enterprises should carry out the policy of "developing production, benefiting both labour and capital." They should unite with the capitalists under the leadership of the state economy to improve production and supervise the implementation of the policies, laws and decrees of the state and struggle against all illegal acts of the capitalists.

The trade unions of China should educate the broad masses of the workers in the spirit of patriotism and communism and constantly educate them to understand the identity of state and individual interests, and of long-term and immediate interests and strive for the raising of their political, cultural and technical levels. They must fully develop the spirit of internationalism, actively participate in the international working-class movement, strive for the unity and solidarity of this movement and for the defence of a lasting peace in the Far East and throughout the world.

II. Concerning Trade Unoin Membership

Article 3 of the Constitution adopted by the Sixth Labour Congress stipulated:

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

> The All-China Federation of Trade Unions shall be basically composed of affiliated organizations. Any trade union organization within the boundaries of China, whether industrial, trade or local, may affiliate to the All-China Federation of Trade Unions upon acceptance of this Constitution....

Such a stipulation was correct because at that time, in the Kuomintang-ruled areas, there were still in existence various kinds of trade unions, and it was impossible to adopt the organizational form of today. For the purpose of uniting the working class of the country, we could only build up the All-China Federation of Trade Unions on the basis of affiliated organizations. But today the conditions have changed. Following the victory of the people's revolution and the unification of the country, the trade unions of China are no longer a confederation of workers' organizations in certain regions, but a unified mass organization of the working class of the whole country. Hence the former stipulation "...basically composed of affiliated organizations" should be amended.

The Draft Constitution stipulates that "Membership ... shall be open to all manual and non-manual workers whose wages constitute their sole or main means of living, and who accept the Constitution of the Trade Unions."

Explanations on this article are as follows:

1. All those who have deprived of their political rights by the People's Government are not allowed to join the trade unions. The reason is that since they have been deprived of the rights to speech, assembly, association and other political rights, naturally they have no right to join the trade unions. Some of them in the past exploited and oppressed the labouring people, some were counter-revolutionaries who betrayed their country, and some are serving sentences for having violated the law of the state.

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

2. The Draft Constitution stipulates that "membership shall be open to all manual and non-manual workers whose wages constitute their sole or main means of living and who accept the Constitution of the Trade Unions."

That is to say, all workers, regardless of nationality, sex or religious beliefs, who conform to the conditions set out in Article 1 of the Draft Constitution, can be admitted as members to the trade unions.

That is to say, those manual labourers whose sole or main means of living are not wages but other sources of income (such as peasants and small handicraftsmen) and those non-manual labourers (such as some categories of professional workers) should not be admitted to the trade unions. In certain areas in the past, two incorrect tendencies in relation to workers' membership were found.

The first was the tendency of "close-door-ism," which means that conditions for membership were inaccessibly high, with many unnecessary limitations, and many workers were thus kept out of the trade unions. For instance, the ideologically backward workers were not permitted to join the trade unions and admittance was limited to those who were diligent in study and had work ability and some education. There are even cases in which workers applying for membership were asked to write an autobiography, to take an oath, to go through admission rites, to present a letter of certification from the local peasant association, an endorsement from the county general trade union, and so on.

All these measures were completely wrong. They reveal that some of our trade union functionaries did not understand that one of the fundamental roles of the trade union is to educate the workers and the way to educate and raise the level of class consciousness of the workers who are not conscious is by organizing them into the trade unions.

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

The other tendency was formalism which means that some trade union functionaries laid too much emphasis on expansion of the trade union membership. As a result, many non-working class elements, such as small handicraftsmen and professional workers, were admitted to the trade union. Both these measures were wrong.

III. Concerning the Rights and Duties of the Members

The Draft Constitution stipulates that the trade union members shall have the following rights:

(a) The right to elect and to be elected;

(b) The right to make proposals and suggestions to the trade unions for the improvement of trade union work;

(c) The right to criticize at trade union meetings or in trade union press any trade union functionaries;

(d) The priority in the enjoyment of the various collective cultural and welfare establishments conducted by the trade unions.

We consider that the rights of the members provided by the Draft Constitution are extremely necessary.

Why should the rights of trade union members be defined?

Firstly, because only by clearly defining and protecting the rights of trade union members, can the democratic life and democratic system of the trade unions be ensured. The trade union organizations at all levels, from the Executive Committee of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions down to the basic committees, should be democratically elected at the congresses or general meetings of the trade union organizations at all levels. Delegates to these congresses should be democratically elected by the membership from the bottom up. If the right of the trade union members to elect and to be elected were not stipulated, it would be impossible

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

for the trade unions to be formed on the principles of democratic centralism, to become the organizations of the broad masses of the workers themselves.

Secondly, only when the rights of members are clearly stipulated and protected, can trade union work be genuinely based on the masses, be constantly improved and strengthened by the active participation and support of the broad masses of workers. Since the trade unions are the mass organizations of the working class, trade union work means work among the masses. Without the right of the members to express opinions and make suggestions to the trade union organizations for the improvement of trade union work, it would be impossible to develop the enthusiasm of members to take part in trade union activities, to absorb the opinions and suggestions of the masses, and it would be impossible to carry out trade union work properly under the supervision of the masses.

Thirdly, only when the rights of the trade union members are clearly defined and protected, can criticism and self-criticism, especially criticism from below, be surely developed within the trade unions, and the correct leadership of the trade unions be guaranteed. Anyone who refuses criticism will be violating the principle of democratic life in the trade unions. We must constantly struggle against any act which tends to suppress criticism and undermine the trade union's democratic life.

Fourthly, only by clearly defining and protecting the right of the members to democratic life and the democratic system, as well as the right to enjoy the benefits of the collective cultural and welfare establishments conducted by the trade unions, will there be a distinction between the trade union members and non-trade union members, will members feel the honour and duty of being trade union members, thus enabling them to be enthusiastically concerned with trade

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

union activities. This also serves as an education and encouragement to non-trade union members who should join but have not yet joined the trade union.

The trade union organizations of all levels, therefore, should respect and must not violate the rights of every trade union member. All acts violating the rights of the trade union members constitute an infringement upon the trade union Constitution. The trade union organizations of all levels should constantly carry on education on the rights of trade union members in order to enable the members to recognize their rights and understand the importance of exercising them.

The Draft Constitution defines that the trade union members have the following duties:

(a) To observe laws and decrees of the state and labour discipline;

(b) To take good care of public property;

(c) Assiduously to engage themselves in political, technical and cultural studies so as to raise their class consciousness and working ability;

(d) To observe the Constitution of the Trade Unions and decisions and pay membership dues punctually.

These provisions on the duties of the members as defined in the Draft Constitution are not only highly important but also necessary.

Why are the duties of members thus defined?

Firstly, the Chinese working class has already become the leading class of the people's democratic state power. Therefore, every worker or employee should understand that since the state power is his own, he should protect and consolidate it and consciously observe the policies, laws and decrees of the people's government and labour discipline, and struggle against those who violate government laws and decrees and labour discipline.

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Secondly, every worker or employee should take good care of public property since it belongs to the working class and the people of the entire nation and since it is the material basis on which our country may gradually advance towards industrialization and socialism, as well as the material basis for the improvement of the material and cultural life of all the labouring people. Therefore, public property is sacred and inviolable, and every member should protect it and resolutely struggle against all acts of corruption, waste and destruction of and apathy over public property.

Thirdly, if we are to carry out successfully the task of national construction, all trade union members must be assiduously engaged in political, technical and cultural studies, so as to raise their class consciousness and working ability. Otherwise, it would be very difficult for them to shoulder the task of national construction. Therefore, every member should study diligently and, in particular, learn from the Soviet Union.

Fourthly, in order to realize successfully the industrialization of the nation, and to advance steadily towards socialism, strong and militant trade union organizations are needed. Therefore, the strengthening of the trade union organizations is the common task of all members. The important condition for strengthening the trade unions is for all members to observe the Constitution of the Trade Unions and decisions and to pay membership dues punctually.

In short, as long as all members fulfil their duties conscientiously the fighting capacity of the trade union organizations will be further raised. Hence, the trade union organizations at all levels should constantly educate their members in the duties set forth in the Draft Constitution. Then undoubtedly, the class consciousness of the members will be raised, their sense of responsibility as masters will be strengthened, and the fighting capacity of the trade union organiza-

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

tions will certainly be intensified, thereby effectively enhancing the development of production.

IV. Concerning the Organizational Principles and Structure of the Trade Unions

1. The trade unions are built on the basis of democratic centralism.

The Draft Constitution stipulates that the trade unions are built on the basis of democratic centralism. The basic system is as follows:

(a) The leading bodies of the trade unions of all levels are to be elected democratically from the bottom up by the membership and should submit reports on their work at regular intervals to the membership;

(b) The trade unions of all levels shall carry on their work in accordance with the Constitution and decisions of the Trade Unions;

(c) The trade unions shall make decisions only by a majority vote of the members present at the meeting;

(d) The lower trade union organizations shall obey the higher trade union organizations.

Some of our trade union organizations have long ceased to call membership meetings or congresses and to make reports on their work and their expenditure to them. They neither hold timely re-elections nor carry out criticism and self-criticism, especially criticism from below. As a result, these trade union organizations have become alienated from the masses, thereby hampering supervision from below. These conditions have given impetus to the growth of bureaucratism, commandism and violation of regulations in the trade union organizations. Since the *San Fan* and *Wu Fan* movements, many trade unions have carried out reform and reorganization, but normal democratic life and regular

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

criticism and self-criticism are still lacking. Recently, we have received many letters from the workers which exposed the shortcomings in trade union functionaries. These shortcomings are inseparable from bureaucratism on the part of the leadership. Thus trade union organizations of all levels must get rid of bureaucratism and red-tape routine.

As Chairman Mao Tse-tung taught us:

> In all sorts of work, we cannot accomplish any of the tasks if we only propose them but do not attend to methods for carrying them out, if we do not oppose bureaucratic methods of work and adopt instead practical and specific methods of work, and if we do not discard the authoritarian method of work and adopt instead the method of patient persuasion.

As stipulated in the Draft Constitution, trade union organizations of all levels must make regular reports on their work and their expenditure to the membership, establish a democratic system of normal union life, constantly carry out criticism and self-criticism, especially criticism from below, and place the trade unions under the supervision of the workers. Only in this way can the trade unions win the support of the broad working masses, keep close contact with the workers and fully develop their activeness to fulfil or overfulfil the production tasks of the state. Only in this way can we strengthen the organization and discipline of the workers on the basis of their consciousness.

2. The trade unions are formed along the industrial lines.

The formation of trade unions along the industrial lines is of great importance in ensuring the implementation of state production plans, in solving the problems of workers in connection with production, wages, labour protection, labour insurance, and so on. To form trade unions along the industrial lines means:

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

(a) All trade union members in the same enterprise, institution or other units, instead of being organized into separate trade unions in accordance with their occupations, shall be organized into the same basic organization of the same industrial union. If unions are organized according to occupation, it will be detrimental not only to the development of production but also to the inner unity of the working class.

(b) Trade union members of the same industrial branch of national economy should be organized on a national scale into a national industrial union, with the aim of ensuring the fulfilment or over-fulfilment of state production plans in accordance with the special features of the various industries and the needs of national construction. On this basis, concentrated education should be carried out among the workers and problems regarding their working conditions and welfare should be solved. In carrying out large-scale planned economic construction, it is necessary to strengthen the work of the industrial unions in a planned way and on a selective basis.

(c) Local trade unions throughout the country, under possible conditions, should also be formed along the industrial lines. Local trade union councils at all levels constitute the joint leading organs of the local trade unions and industrial trade unions in the given localities. The local trade unions played an important role in building up the trade union organizations. They are playing, and will play for a considerable period, an important role in the organization and strengthening of the industrial unions as well as in the development of na-

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

tion-wide trade union work. In strengthening the work of the industrial unions on a selective basis, the role played by the local trade unions should not be neglected.

3. The Draft Constitution stipulates: "The Executive Committee of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions shall elect at its plenary session a Presidium and a Secretariat." In the past, the Standing Committee of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions attended to the routine work. Now the Presidium and the Secretariat are set up in order to concentrate on strengthening the work of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions and its leadership over the industrial unions.

The Presidium of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions is the supreme leading body of the trade unions all over the country when the Executive Committee is not in session. It carries out the decisions of the National Congress and of the Executive Committee and leads all trade union work in the country.

The Secretariat of the Federation, under the leadership of the Presidium, takes care of the routine work of the trade unions throughout the country.

The Draft Constitution also stipulates that some industrial unions may elect their own presidium to direct their daily work, while other industrial unions carry on their daily work still under the direction of their respective standing committee. The reason is that some industries are more concentrated; their trade union organizations more sound; therefore the organizational form of a presidium is more appropriate; whereas other industrial unions are not sound enough and their daily activities will be conducted by their standing committees.

4. The Draft Constitution stipulates that trade unions of all levels may set up auditing commissions. The financial reports of trade unions of all levels shall become valid only

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

when signed by the chairman of the auditing commission, in order that democracy may be fully practised, and trade union members may supervise the proper use of the trade union funds.

5. The Draft Constitution stipulates that the title of the local general trade unions will be changed into local trade union councils. The reason is that in the past, all local trade union organizations were called general trade unions, resulting in the existence of too many general trade unions. In fact, the local general trade unions constituted the joint leading organs of different local trade unions and industrial unions; therefore, they should be renamed trade union councils. From now on, provincial trade union councils should strengthen their leadership not only over the industrial unions, but also over the county and town trade unions.

Besides strengthening their work in the few industries, county and town trade unions should strengthen their work among the handicraft workers.

V. The Question of Basic Trade Union Organizations

1. The basic trade union organizations are the foundation of the trade unions.

The basic trade union organizations are the foundation of the trade unions because they have direct contact and are directly linked with the masses and all trade union work should be carried out through them. Soundness of the organization of the basic trade unions is a decisive factor in the success of the entire trade union work, therefore we must concentrate our efforts on constantly improving the work of the basic trade unions.

The Draft Constitution stipulates that basic trade union organizations are formed by the trade union members of the same enterprise or establishment. Set up along the industrial lines, they are of vital significance in strengthening the

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

unity between the workers and other employees, in guaranteeing a rise of labour productivity and in improving the material, cultural and living conditions of the workers and other employees.

But due to the complexity of China's economy, its uneven development, and that small privately-owned enterprises still comprise a considerable part of the national economy, it is necessary to state clearly where the basic trade unions are to be formed. In the combined major enterprises such as the factories and mines of Anshan and Fushun, basic trade union organizations may be formed at construction sites or pits. In the building industry, basic trade union organizations may, on the whole, be established at factories producing building materials and at construction sites. However, because building workers are always on the move, it is necessary to maintain trade unions at the company level. In factories such as big textile mills, tram companies and so on, basic trade union committees may be formed at a branch level, but only with the approval of the higher trade union organizations. Machine parts processing factories and small factories of over 25 persons may set up basic trade union committees; in the case of less than 25 persons, a group organizer may be elected, and in the case of less than three persons, they may join the nearest trade union organization of the related industry or trade or set up a joint group.

2. Concerning the establishment of workshop committees.

In large factories with large workshops, workshop committees should be established, regardless of shift or type of work. This is beneficial to production and will help educate the workers and solve their daily problems. In small factories and small workshops, there is no need to organize workshop committees, but trade union groups may be organized instead, because too many levels of organization

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

in such small units will prevent trade union work from penetrating deeply into the masses, and workshop committees will have no work to do.

3. With regard to the establishment of trade union groups, the Draft Constitution stipulates that they are to be organized according to production shifts or work units, and not according to the number, sex or individual wishes of the workers. As the trade union group is the unit in which the daily activities of the workers are being carried out, the successful functioning of the trade union group has significant bearings on the work of the basic trade union. This kind of trade union group organized according to production shifts, or work units will facilitate production, the conducting of education among the workers and the solution of their daily problems.

4. With regard to the establishment of working sub-committees in the basic trade union committees and workshop committees, the Draft Constitution stipulates that they may be organized by the basic trade union committees and workshop (or department) committees, depending upon their practical needs. This stipulation is entirely necessary because working sub-committees should be established according to the practical needs and conditions in the workshops and factories. For instance, in comparatively large factories and workshops or factories and workshops with achievements in trade union activities, working sub-committees such as production sub-committee, wage sub-committee (which may also deal with rationalization proposals), sub-committees on cultural and educational affairs, on labour insurance, on labour protection, on mutual help, and on the material welfare of the workers may be generally established. In small factories or workshops, there is no need to set up such sub-committees since the committee members can divide the daily work among themselves.

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

VI. The Question of Organization of Trade Union Councils of Handicraft Workers

The Draft Constitution stipulates: "Regulations governing the organization of trade union councils for handicraft workers will be formulated separately." This stipulation is made because the handicrafts are different from modern industry and vary in different localities. Therefore it is not advisable to organize the handicraft workers with the organizational form and method of work as applied among the industrial workers. It is necessary to stipulate separately the methods of organizing handicraft workers. I propose that the Congress authorize the next Executive Committee to study and deal with this problem.

My report concerning the amended Constitution is now drawing towards the end. In short, the important tasks in building our trade unions at present are: to strengthen the trade union organizations of all levels, to strengthen the industrial unions, to strengthen the work of the basic trade union organizations and to develop trade union democracy and improve its system of work. Only when these tasks have been successfully accomplished shall we succeed in strengthening and raising the fighting capacity of the working class and successfully accomplishing the glorious task of fulfilling our Five-Year Plan.

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

MARXISM—THE BANNER OF LIBERATION OF THE CHINESE WORKING CLASS

Yang Hsien-chen

Karl Marx, founder of scientific socialism, the most outstanding and gifted thinker of mankind, and great leader and teacher of the working class of the whole world, was born on May 5, 1818. Today is the 135th anniversary of his birthday. Marx has made incomparably great contributions to mankind. Together with Engels, he created scientific socialism or Marxism—the revolutionary theory of the proletariat.

Marxism is the only correct revolutionary theory. As Lenin said, "The main thing in the doctrine of Marx is that it brings out the historic role of the proletariat as the builder of a socialist society."

This theory has for over a hundred years educated and armed the proletariat and all oppressed and exploited masses of the whole world. Under the guidance of Marxism the workers and all the exploited and oppressed masses have united to fight for the overthrow of the capitalist system of slavery and all other systems of exploitation and oppression of man by man, and to realize the brilliant future of socialism and communism.

Before Marx there were certain people who entertained socialist ideas and dreamed of an ideal society where there would be no exploitation of man by man. But socialism prior to Marx was utopian socialism.

At the beginning of the 19th century there were in Europe some utopian socialists who severely criticized and denounced capitalism and tried to wipe out this hateful dark

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

society so that mankind could live a happier life. But they did not understand the laws of historical development of mankind, nor the laws of development of capitalist society. Thus they did not know what forces to rely upon and what methods to apply for the elimination of capitalism and the realization of socialism. The utopian socialists thought that by relying on certain subjective lofty desires of man, they would be able to wipe out capitalism and create a new society. They thought that it was only necessary to persuade the rich and influential, arouse their conscience so that they would admit the injustice of exploitation and therefore be willing to abolish it, thus establishing a socialist society. Obviously such dreams of realizing a socialist society without struggle, without the proletarian revolution and dictatorship of the proletariat, can never become reality.

Before Marx, utopian socialism was not integrated with the working-class movement. Although it partly reflected the demands of the proletariat and afforded most valuable materials for enlightening the workers, this school of socialism was still an immature theory. As pointed out by Marx and Engels, that theory reflected the immature capitalist production and the immature class relations of the time. It was to a certain extent influenced by the bourgeoisie and therefore could not be the weapon for liberation of the working class. Thus the working-class movement prior to Marx could only grope in the dark. At that time the workers did not yet understand why they were subjected to the miserable life of being exploited and oppressed. They did not understand the important role of the working class in history.

Marx and Engels thoroughly criticized utopian socialism. They criticized all earlier schools of philosophy and social science, summarized the finest achievements of mankind in the natural and social sciences of the first half of the

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

19th century and created dialectical and historical materialism.

Marx and Engels for the first time in world history discovered the laws of the historical development of mankind, discovered the laws of class struggle in the entire history of class society and discovered the laws of the inevitable doom of the capitalist society, and the inevitable coming of communism. The Marxist theory afforded the working class and all the oppressed and exploited masses a scientific basis in their revolutionary struggle for liberation.

Marx and Engels scientifically proved that socialism was neither born out of utopian thinking, nor was it the product of good wishes. It was the inevitable result of the development of the internal contradictions within modern capitalist society.

The growth of the modern working class with the development of large-scale capitalist industry was the great social force for eliminating capitalism and creating a new socialist society.

Marx and Engels discovered the historical mission to be shouldered by the working class. They pointed out that only the working class can lead all working people to attack capitalism, to eliminate forever the system of exploitation of man by man, and thus enables mankind to lead the most happy and prosperous life.

Marx and Engels pointed out that the proletariat must rely on its own force to fulfil the historical mission of eliminating capitalism and creating a new society. They also pointed out that once the workers become conscious of their role in history and organize themselves, they will be invincible. In order to achieve this aim, the working class must have its own political party—the political party of the revolutionary proletariat. This party must educate the workers in Marxist

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

ideas, lead the workers and unite with all the oppressed people to wage revolutionary struggle.

Marx and Engels taught us that the revolutionary movement of the proletariat differs in principle from all revolutionary movements in the past. It is neither a movement of a handful of people nor in the interests of a handful of people. It is the movement of the overwhelming majority of people and is in their interests. Marx and Engels pointed out to the proletariat of all countries that they must rally around themselves all exploited working masses in the process of revolutionary struggle.

Because the historical task of the proletariat is to wipe out all systems of exploitation of man by man, and finally eliminate classes, it can most thoroughly represent the interests of all working masses. To win its own liberation the proletariat must at the same time liberate all other oppressed people. Hence it is wrong to think that it is possible to realize socialism without the leadership of the working class, while, on the other hand, it is also wrong to think that only the working class is needed and it is unnecessary to unite with all the oppressed labourers, particularly the broad sections of peasantry, to achieve this aim.

Marx and Engels taught us that, in order to eliminate classes and build a socialist society, the working class must lead the peasants and other working masses to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. Marx and Engels also ingeniously pointed out that to realize communist society it is necessary to pass through two stages. Socialist society is the first stage of communism. Through socialism mankind will realize communism, the most beautiful and happiest epoch in human history.

These discoveries of Marx and Engels are their immortal contributions to the cause of human progress.

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

The birth of Marxist science gave the sharpest revolutionary weapon to the working class. The integration of Marxism with the working-class movement has brought about its entry into the period of wholly conscious, organized, purposeful struggle.

The *Manifesto of the Communist Party* published by Marx and Engels in 1848 gave the first complete and systematic exposition to the theory of scientific socialism which they had founded. The publication of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* announced the birth of scientific socialism. As Comrade Stalin said, "Marx and Engels opened a new era with their *Manifesto of the Communist Party.*"

In their later works, Marx and Engels further developed and substantiated the viewpoints which they had expounded in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party.* Marx's *Capital* is of particular significance in this regard. In this great masterpiece, Marx made a penetrating and thorough scientific analysis of the laws of development of capitalism. He thoroughly exposed the substance of capitalist exploitation, and brilliantly demonstrated the inevitable doom of the capitalist system and its inevitable substitution by the socialist system.

During his life, Marx not only engaged in tremendous scientific research and founded scientific socialism, but also directly led the world working-class movement and carried out important organizational activities among the workers. He was a staunch and indomitable revolutionary. He is the greatest leader and teacher of world working-class movement. He and Engels joined the Communist League in 1847, and the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* was written for this organization. Marx actively took part in the German Revolution of 1848. For this, he was sent to court trials by the counter-revolutionaries and later deported. In 1864, in London, Marx founded the First International—the

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

International Working Men's Association. Under the leadership of Marx, the First International welded together the working-class movement of various European countries, and advanced the world working-class movement one great step further.

The life of Marx was a life of struggle. He dedicated everything to the working class, to the great cause of communism. Although frequently living in extreme poverty and in exile throughout his life, Marx persisted in his theoretical research and practical work. He constantly gave warm concern to the fate of the oppressed people throughout the world. During his life, not a single social event which was of progressive significance escaped his attention, no matter in what part of the world it might have taken place. While evaluating the historical changes within every nation, Marx started from the interests of the liberation of the world's working class. He gave brilliant instructions on principle to the proletariat, on tactics in struggle in different historical conditions. The close integration between scientific theories and revolutionary practice is exactly a characteristic of Marxism.

Marx never compromised in struggle against all enemies. He not only resolutely opposed all rulers in Europe at that time, but also waged uncompromising struggles against all opportunist theories and schools in the working-class movement. Both in theory and in practice, Marx smashed all opportunist theories and schools such as Proudhonism in France, syndicalism in England, Lassalleanism in Germany, Mazziniism in Italy, Pakuninism in Russia. In this way he demonstrated to the working class of the world that only Marxism can lead the working class and all oppressed people to liberation.

Marx died on March 14, 1883. In the entire period of 70 years since the death of this great, immortal revolution-

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

ary, every development in human history affords new proof of the correctness of the science of Marxism. Marxist ideology is already universal. The truth of scientific socialism founded by Marx and Engels has been proved by facts and communist ideology has now become a living reality.

The great Lenin and Stalin, successors to the cause of Marx and Engels, creatively developed and enriched Marxism in accordance with new historical conditions and new experiences in revolutionary struggles.

Lenin pointed out that imperialism is the highest stage in the development of capitalism, that is decaying and moribund capitalism and that it is the eve of proletariat revolution. On the basis of the historical conditions in which capitalism had already entered imperialism, Lenin laid down theories and tactics of the proletariat revolution. Therefore, as accurately defined by Stalin, "Leninism is the Marxism of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution."

By applying Marxism, Lenin discovered the law of uneven development of capitalism, and arrived at the conclusion that socialism can first be victorious in a few countries or even in one country.

Lenin and Stalin concretely applied and developed Marxism and led the great October Socialist Revolution to victory. They first overthrew capitalism in a territory occupying one-sixth of the globe, created the socialist state and for the first time in the history of mankind the Soviet Union eradicated all systems of exploitation of man by man. This is a great victory of Marxism-Leninism.

Lenin and Stalin pointed out that during the period of imperialism and after the victory of the October Revolution, the peoples of all colonial and dependent countries can obtain liberation only by forming an alliance with the working class and following the leadership of the working class.

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Lenin and Stalin further advanced the theory of Marxism on socialism. Stalin further summed up the experience of socialist construction in the Soviet Union and concretely developed the theory of building communist society.

After the death of Lenin, Stalin further and comprehensively advanced Marxism-Leninism to a new stage of development. Stalin gave a comprehensive and complete definition to Marxism:

> Marxism is the science of the laws governing the development of nature and society, the science of the revolution of the oppressed and exploited masses, the science of the victory of socialism in all countries, the science of building a communist society.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung in his "The Greatest Friendship" stated:

> Comrade Stalin, in a comprehensive and classical manner, developed Marxist-Leninist theory; he opened up a new stage in the development of Marxism. Comrade Stalin creatively developed Lenin's theory of the uneven development of capitalism and the theory of the possibility of the victory of socialism in one country, taken singly; Comrade Stalin made a creative contribution to the theory of the general crisis of the capitalist system and to the theory of the construction of communism in the U.S.S.R.; he discovered and substantiated the basic economic law of modern capitalism and the basic economic law of socialism; he contributed to the theory of revolution in the colonies and semi-colonies. Comrade Stalin also creatively developed the Leninist theory of the building of the Party. All this further rallied the workers of the whole world and all oppressed classes and peoples in consequence of which the struggle of the working class and all oppressed peoples for their liberation and happiness, and the suc-

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

cesses achieved in this struggle, assumed unprecedented proportions.

Led by the genius of the great Stalin, the Soviet Union, through several five-year plans, succeeded in building a strong, powerful and industrialized socialist state with collective agriculture, and is now striding towards communism. It is not only a happy land of freedom and liberty to the Soviet working class, collective farmers, and intelligentzia, but also the saviour of all oppressed peoples in the world in their struggle for liberation. It is a mighty bulwark of peace for the whole world. The Soviet people, reared and led by Lenin and Stalin, made selfless and noble sacrifices in the Great Patriotic War which had a decisive effect in the destiny of mankind, defeated the fascist imperialist powers of Germany, Italy and Japan. They not only defended the Soviet Socialist Motherland but also assisted the peoples of the countries in Eastern Europe to obtain liberation from the slavery of fascism and build up their own people's democracies. This is still another great victory of Marxism-Leninism of world historic significance after the victory of the October Socialist Revolution.

Four years after the victorious conclusion of the Second World War, victory was also achieved in the revolution of the great Chinese people. This is a great victory of Marxism-Leninism in colonial and semi-colonial countries. Since then, in the vast area spreading from Europe to Asia there are already 800 million people who have been set free from capitalist exploitation and oppression and have built the invincible camp of peace and democracy headed by the Soviet Union. Stalin is the immortal standard-bearer of this camp of mighty and invincible force. Therefore as Comrade Malenkov said:

> Comrade Stalin, that great thinker of our era, creatively developed the teachings of Marxism-Leninism in

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

the new conditions of history. His name rightly ranks with those of the greatest men in human history—Marx, Engels, and Lenin.

The banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin is the banner of victory of the working class and all progressive mankind throughout the world.

Marx had the warmest sympathy and concern for the national liberation struggles of the Chinese people in history. As early as a hundred years back, Marx wrote many articles on the Opium War and the Taiping Revolution. In his writings he bitterly condemned the criminal acts of the aggressors and the unjust war they launched against the Chinese people. Together with Engels, he predicted that from the struggles of the Chinese people one would see "the dawn of a new era in the whole of Asia." Today, this prediction has already come about. Without the guidance of Marxist ideology, it would be impossible to imagine the victory of the Chinese revolution. In his work *On People's Democratic Dictatorship,* Comrade Mao Tse-tung stated: "We are indebted to Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin for giving us our weapon. This weapon is not a machine-gun, but Marxism-Leninism."

He further stated: "The Chinese people found Marxism-Leninism, a universal truth which is applicable anywhere. The face of China then began to change."

The Chinese people found the truth of Marxism-Leninism through a process of groping and searching.

In the early years of the twentieth century, and before the bourgeois revolution in 1911, the name of Marx was mentioned in the publications of China and Marxist theory was introduced in bits and pieces. But at that time the Chinese working class had not yet become an independent political force, and the revolution at that time was led by the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois elements. The bourgeois and

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

petty-bourgeois revolutionaries only mentioned Marx in passing, they could not understand the theory of Marx at all.

At that time the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois revolutionaries attempted to reform their country on the model of the western capitalist countries; they ended in failure. Doubts and distrust of the bourgeois ideology among the Chinese people arose and increased; the First World War proved that capitalist system could only bring disaster to the people of the world. The victory of the October Socialist Revolution which broke out during the First World War brought new hopes to the Chinese people.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung said:

> The salvoes of the October Revolution brought us Marxism-Leninism. The October Revolution helped the advanced people of China and of the whole world to adopt a proletarian world outlook as an instrument for looking into a nation's future or for reconsidering one's own problems.

During the First World War, following the great development of national capital in China, there was a great development of the Chinese working class. Working-class movement began to develop and Marxist ideology helped the advanced people of China to see that the dependable force in the reform of our country was no other but this developing force of the working class.

Thus, under the immense influence of the October Socialist Revolution, the Chinese started to really understand Marxism. Moreover, as soon as Marxism came to China, it was combined with the working-class movement through the progressives among the intelligentzia of the time and became a powerful material force.

On the basis of the combination of Marxism-Leninism and the Chinese working-class movement, the Chinese Communist Party was founded—this Party has after over thirty

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

years of trials in history proved to be the only revolutionary political party that can lead the Chinese people to liberation. And we are confident that it will continue to lead the Chinese people to socialism and the final aim of communism.

The appearance of the modern working class in China and the development of the working-class movement were the class basis for the birth of the Communist Party of China. But with this condition alone and without the dissemination of Marxism-Leninism in China there could not have been the birth of the Chinese Communist Party. For had the working class relied only on their own force, it would have led them to the ideas of syndicalism, and there would not have been an awakening to communism. On the ideological basis of syndicalism there would not have been the birth of the Communist Party. Only by permeating the scientific theories of Marxism within the Chinese working class was it possible to change the Chinese working class from a class in itself to a class for itself, and organize a real militant revolutionary political party—the Communist Party of China.

The history of the Communist Party of China and of the Chinese revolution led by the Party, is the history of the application and development of Marxism-Leninism in China. It is also the history of the struggle of Marxist-Leninists in China against various erroneous ideologies. This history centred around the Chinese Bolsheviks headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung. In guiding the Chinese revolution, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has combined the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory and tactics on the Chinese revolution based on Marxism have applied and developed the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin in accordance with the concrete conditions in China.

Marxist's theory on class struggle and the idea of the hegemony of the proletariat are clearly manifested in the

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

works of Comrade Mao Tse-tung. Basing himself on this theory, Comrade Mao Tse-tung routed the erroneous ideas and actions of opportunism of all kinds. The opportunists opposed and distorted Marxism on this very basic point. The thesis of the Right-wing opportunists, actually, was the denial or reconciliation of class struggle, the giving up or weakening of the hegemony of the proletariat. The "Left" wing opportunists also did not understand how to conduct class struggle, nor did they understand how hegemony of the proletariat can be won over. Therefore, they caused the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat to end in failure. If we followed the direction of the opportunists, we would have lost hegemony of the proletariat.

Having mastered Marxism, Comrade Mao Tse-tung applied the Marxist theory to the practice of the Chinese revolution and routed the erroneous views of both types of opportunism. He persistently opposed the non-Marxist thesis of denying class struggle, and at the same time, ably analysed the concrete historical situation, and starting from the practical conditions of the relative strength of all classes, formulated the tactics of revolutionary struggles in opposing blind adventurism.

The Marxist theory of the hegemony of the proletariat which was further developed by Lenin and Stalin, found its expression in the first stage of China's revolution in Comrade Mao Tse-tung's definition of the character of the Chinese revolution. Comrade Mao Tse-tung clearly pointed out that the Chinese revolution is led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants; it is a revolution of the broad masses of people against imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism. Under all circumstances, whether before or after the victory of the revolution, Comrade Mao Tse-tung has always insisted on the idea of the hegemony of the proletariat, thereby defending Marxism on

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

this basic point. After the victory of China's revolution, ideologies and actions of all kinds attempting to weaken the hegemony of the proletariat were criticized and corrected.

When analysing the causes of failure of the revolutions in Germany, France and other countries in 1848-1849, Marx paid special attention to the role of the peasants in revolutionary struggles. This thought of Marx was later developed by Lenin and Stalin into the thought of alliance between workers and peasants under the leadership of the proletariat. This is the key problem of the achievement of revolutionary victory by the proletariat.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung, basing himself on the theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin on peasant question, has fully appraised the force and role of the peasantry in the Chinese revolution. China at present is still a country in which small farming economy is in a predominant position quantitatively. Therefore the peasant question has its special significance. The basic divergence of view between Chinese Marxists and opportunists is sharply expressed in the peasant question. During the First Chinese Revolutionary Civil War, the Right opportunists as represented by Chen Tu-hsiu, paid attention only to the co-operation with the Kuomintang, and forgot about the peasantry. On the other hand, the "Left" opportunists as represented by Chang Kuo-tao, paid attention only to the working-class movement, and also forgot about the peasantry. Both of these two groups of opportunists did not know where to find allies. Only Comrade Mao Tse-tung who thoroughly understood the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin correctly solved this problem. As early as 1926, he pointed out that the broadest and most reliable ally of the proletariat was the peasantry. Later on, in his work, *On People's Democratic Dictatorship,* Comrade Mao Tse-tung again emphatically pointed out:

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

> The foundation of the people's democratic dictatorship is the alliance of the working class, peasantry and urban petty-bourgeoisie. It is mainly the alliance of the workers and peasants. . . . In over-throwing imperialism and the reactionary clique of the Kuomintang, these two classes are the major force. The transition from New Democracy to socialism also depends primarily upon the alliance of these two classes.

Therefore the Chinese workers who have acted under the direction of Marxism, should not, even for one minute, detach from their own peasant brothers, nor overlook the alliance with the peasant class. They should know well how to maintain and develop this alliance, to educate and reform the peasantry through this alliance, so as to march with them towards socialism.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theories on the united front, on revolutionary wars, on the construction of New Democracy, etc., all are conclusions drawn from the practical experiences of the Chinese revolutionary struggles, through the application of the Marxist standpoint, viewpoint and Marxist method. Lenin said: "The Marxian doctrine is omnipotent because it is true." The victory won by the Chinese revolution under the direction of the thought of Mao Tse-tung also shows that the Marxian doctrine is true, and also omnipotent.

As in the past and present, the working class and other labouring people of China should rely, in the future, on Marxism as their guide; they should unite with the working class and the working people of all nations and march on victoriously under the glorious fighting banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

Comrades, when commemorating the anniversary of the birth of Marx, the great founder of scientific socialism, we should carry out ideological education on Marxism more widely and more thoroughly among our workers. Since the

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

founding of our Party, we have carried out much work and achieved great results in the field of popularizing Marxism and in the carrying out of ideological education in Marxism among our working class and other labouring people.

Since 1949, when the Chinese revolution achieved nation-wide victory, we have also persistently strengthened political and ideological education among the working class. During these four years, besides the education in current events and policies which has been carried out from time to time, alongside of the development of the work of the whole nation, ideological education in Marxism, such as the education in materialist world outlook, education in the laws of social development, education in class struggles and education regarding the future of socialism and communism has been carried out more or less systematically. Such education has generally achieved the expected results. This was manifested in the great raising of the level of class consciousness of the workers and the continuous appearance of inventions and creations among the workers. Besides, in different enterprises education has been carried out among the workers on the development of production. It is pointed out that only by the development of production can the strength of the working class be increased. As instructed by Lenin and Stalin, the establishment of every new factory is equal to the establishment of a new fortress. It is pointed out that only by the development of production can the living standards of the working class and other working people be gradually raised. The working masses are taught to understand the identity of the immediate and long-term interests, the identity of the interests of the individual and of the state, and the superiority of socialist enterprises. As a result the political level of the masses of workers has been raised.

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Evidently the more widely and thoroughly Marxist education is carried out, the more rapidly will the consciousness of the working class be raised; and the more rapidly the consciousness of the working class is raised, the more will the road of our country to industrialization be secured. This is an inevitable law.

But it must be pointed out that not all our comrades can thoroughly understand this law. That is to say, not all of our comrades thoroughly understand the great significance of carrying out Marxist education among the working class. Judging from a nation-wide scale, the carrying out of education in Marxism among the working class is not yet balanced and penetrating. This is shown in the fact that in many regions the tendencies of syndicalism and economism still exist. Both these tendencies have a common feature, that is, both of them neglect the carrying out of the ideological education in Marxism among the workers, or dare not propagate communism among the masses of workers. Both these tendencies of syndicalism and economism are anti-Marxist tendencies. Marx and Engels had endeavoured for their whole life to arm the working-class movement with the theory of scientific socialism so that the movement would be detached from the control of bourgeois ideology of syndicalism or economism.

Lenin and Stalin have insisted on the thesis that the movement of working class must be integrated with Marxist ideology—the ideology of scientific socialism. They have critically pointed out that all attempts to detach the working-class movement from Marxist ideology are, in practice, leading the working class to accept the influence of bourgeois ideology.

Under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the Communist Party of China, following the directions of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, has persistently armed our work-

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

ing class with the ever victorious Marxism and struggled against all tendencies which neglect the carrying out of political and ideological education among the working class.

The great Chinese working class has shouldered and will shoulder the greatest historical tasks. We are armed with the Marxist ideology and under the leadership of the Communist Party; we are sure that our historical tasks will be accomplished.

With the joint efforts and the close unity of the world's working class headed by the working class of the Soviet Union, the sacred cause of Marxism will be victorious throughout the world!

Long live the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin!

Long live the unity of the working class and the labouring people of the whole world, under the banner of Marxism!

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

CLOSING ADDRESS BY LIU CHANG-SHENG

Delegates, Guests and Comrades:

The Seventh All-China Congress of Trade Unions is now drawing to a victorious conclusion.

The Congress, held from May 2 to 11, has heard reports on trade union work in China, on the amendments to the Constitution of the Trade Unions of the People's Republic of China, on the financial work of the trade unions of China and on conditions in industry. After discussions at group meetings and at plenary sessions, the Congress has adopted resolutions of historical significance concerning the above-mentioned reports. In these reports and resolutions, the Congress has summed up the experience in the trade union work in China during the past four years and has defined the policy and task of the trade unions of China during the period of national planned economic construction. A new leading organ of all the trade unions of China—the Seventh Executive Committee of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions—has been elected at this Congress, which is a sign of the unprecedented unity of the Chinese working class. We believe that the Seventh Executive Committee of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, will uphold and develop the glorious traditions of China's trade unions, keep in close contact with and whole-heartedly serve the masses of workers throughout the country, and correctly and thoroughly carry out the resolutions of the Congress. We believe that it will mobilize and organize the workers of the whole country for the successful accomplishment of the new historical task of ensuring the fulfilment and over-fulfilment of the

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

state economic construction plan, of fighting for the industrialization of our country and its gradual transition to socialism. This is a great achievement of our Congress.

This great achievement is inseparable from the intimate concern and guidance of the great Communist Party of China and Comrade Mao Tse-tung. The trade unions of China will assuredly further rally the broad masses of the workers of the entire country around the Communist Party of China and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, and march from victory to victory under the banner of the great Mao Tse-tung.

Our Congress has had the warm concern and support of the Central People's Government and the people of the country. We are profoundly conscious of the fact that only in a people's democracy led by the working class can the working class receive such great esteem from the state, and enjoy such a glorious and important position. At the same time, we are even more profoundly aware of our great responsibilities in the construction of our country. The trade union organizations at different levels must hereafter further strengthen education in patriotism among the workers of the country. The trade unions must educate the workers to observe state policies, laws and decrees and supervise their implementation. The trade unions must in this way fulfil their responsibilities in the period of national construction, and play their role as the solid social pillar of the people's democratic state power.

Our Congress has been honoured by the speeches of the representatives of the Chinese People's Volunteers and the peasants at the closing session and by messages of greetings from people of various circles of the country. These greetings represent the expectations and encouragement of the people of the country towards the Chinese working class. They manifest the firm unity between the workers, peasants and people of various circles of the country. These greet-

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

ings have greatly inspired us and tremendously increased our courage and confidence in fulfilling the task of national construction. The workers of China will forever maintain and consolidate this close alliance with the broad masses of peasants, and unite more closely with the people of the country in order to consolidate the People's Democratic Dictatorship. This will be an invincible force in ensuring the fulfilment and over-fulfilment of the tasks in the period of national construction, and in consolidating and developing the victory achieved by the Chinese people.

We feel especially elated because of the presence and greetings of the delegation of the World Federation of Trade Unions, of the delegations of the Soviet Trade Unions and the trade unions of the People's Democracies, as well as the presence and greetings of the delegations of trade unions from many other countries. All these greetings manifest the good wishes and support of the world working class for the great peaceful construction undertaken by the Chinese working class and the Chinese people. They manifest the fervent desire of the world working class for peace and their firm unity in the struggle for peace. These greetings and support from the world working class have further enhanced the confidence of the Chinese working class in the construction of their Motherland and in the defence of world peace. The workers of China will develop to a high degree the spirit of internationalism and patriotism. They will strive unceasingly to strengthen the internal unity of the camp of peace, democracy and socialism headed by the Soviet Union, strengthen the close unity of the peoples of the Soviet Union and China and the unity of the world working class and all peace-loving people; the Chinese workers will strive to defend the unity of the international working-class movement and lasting peace in the Far East and in the world.

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Our Congress is a congress of unity, victory and progress. Our forthcoming task is to translate the spirit and resolutions of this Congress into practical action of thousands upon thousands of workers in the different fields of work. We believe that the Chinese working class, under the brilliant leadership of the Communist Party of China and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, working in common with the entire Chinese people and with the support and assistance of the labouring people of the world, will certainly succeed in the great historical task of fulfilling and over-fulfilling the national economic plan, industrializing China and gradually advancing to socialism. Let us cheer the successful closing of the Congress.

Long live the Chinese working class!

Long live the great unity of the Chinese people!

Long live the great unity of the working class of the whole world!

Long live the Chinese Communist Party, the party of the Chinese working class!

Long live our great Comrade Mao Tse-tung!

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

APPENDIX

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

CONSTITUTION OF THE TRADE UNIONS OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

Adopted by the Seventh All-China Congress of Trade Unions, May 10, 1953

Preamble

The Chinese working class, under the leadership of the Communist Party of China and its great leader Comrade Mao Tse-tung, has waged a protracted struggle in which it established the closest alliance with the peasants, formed a united front with all patriotic and democratic forces to fight against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism, and consequently defeated the foreign imperialists and the internal counter-revolutionaries, thereby achieving great victory in the people's democratic revolution.

It was after the birth of the Chinese Communist Party—a party of the Chinese working class itself—and under its direct leadership that the working-class movement of present-day China progressed along the road to victory.

The trade unions of China led by the Communist Party have rallied the broad masses of the workers around the Party and have thus become transmission belts between the Party and the masses. After the establishment of the people's democratic dictatorship, the trade unions under the leadership of the Party have become a school of administration, a school of management and a school of communism for the workers.

The trade unions of China are mass organizations of all manual and non-manual workers living entirely or mainly

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

on their wages, formed on a voluntary basis without distinction of nationality, sex or religious beliefs.

The People's Republic of China is a republic led by the working class. Hence, the interests of the state and the common interests of the entire people constitute the fundamental interests of the working class. The trade unions, on behalf of the workers, should therefore take an active part in the enactment of laws and decrees of the state concerning production, labour as well as the material and cultural life of the workers, firmly support and carry out all the policies, laws and decrees of the People's Government, and serve as firm social pillars of the people's democratic dictatorship.

The most important tasks of the trade unions of China during the period of national construction are to strengthen the unity of the working class, to consolidate the alliance of workers and peasants, to educate the workers to observe consciously the laws and decrees of the state and labour discipline, to strive for the development of production, for the constant increase of labour productivity, for the fulfilment and over-fulfilment of the production plans of the state, for speedy industrialization of the country and for steady advancement towards socialism. The trade unions should constantly show concern for the improvement of the living and working conditions of the workers and, on the basis of developing production, gradually but actively improve the material and cultural life of the workers.

In the state-owned enterprises, the workers are the masters of the enterprises, and it should be the sacred duty of the trade unions to mobilize and organize the workers to ensure the fulfilment and over-fulfilment of the state production plans.

In enterprises jointly owned by state and private capital and in the enterprises which regularly do processing work for the state, it is the paramount duty of the trade unions to

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

raise production and to supervise the implementation of contracts.

In privately-owned enterprises, although the workers are still subjected to exploitation, their political rights and legitimate economic interests are afforded effective protection by law of the state and by the trade union organizations. Therefore it is also the duty of the trade unions in the privately-owned enterprises to organize and educate the workers to raise production and see to it that the capitalists are observing the government laws and decrees, thus enabling these enterprises to play an active part in the national welfare and people's livelihood under the leadership of the state-owned sector of national economy. This conforms with the fundamental interests of the working class.

The trade unions of China are organized along the industrial lines, based on democratic centralism. They must take collective leadership, persuasion and education as main methods of their work. They must show concern over the interests of the masses, crystallize their views and promote criticism and self-criticism. They must consistently pay attention to the fight against bureaucracy and commandism which separate them from the masses, and at the same time, constantly improve the organization and discipline of the workers.

The trade unions of China must constantly educate the workers in internationalism and actively take part in the international working-class movement. They must strive for the unity and solidarity of the movement and for the defence of lasting peace in the Far East and throughout the world.

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Chapter I

Membership

Article 1

Membership in the trade unions shall be open to all manual and non-manual workers, whose wages constitute their sole or main means of living, and who accept the Constitution of the Trade Unions.

Article 2

Admission to trade union membership is accepted only when a personal application is made on a voluntary basis and when such application has been accepted by a trade union group and approved by the basic committee or the workshop committee of the trade union concerned.

Article 3

Trade union members have the right:

(a) To elect and to be elected;

(b) To make proposals and suggestions to the trade union organizations for the improvement of trade union work;

(c) To criticize at trade union meetings or in trade union press any trade union functionaries;

(d) To enjoy priority in the various collective cultural and welfare establishments conducted by the trade unions.

Article 4

Trade union members have the duty:

(a) To observe laws and decrees of the state and labour discipline;

(b) To take good care of public property;

(c) To assiduously engage themselves in political, technical and cultural studies so as to raise their class consciousness and working ability;

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

(d) To observe the trade union Constitution and decisions and pay membership dues punctually.

Article 5

Any trade union member who breaches the Constitution of the Trade Unions, violates discipline or fails to pay membership dues for more than three months without reason, shall, according to specific cases, be advised, warned or publicly warned, or expelled from the trade union.

Chapter II

Organizational Structure

Article 6

The trade unions of China are built along industrial lines and on the basis of democratic centralism.

The basic system is as follows:

(a) The leading bodies of the trade unions of all levels are to be elected democratically from the bottom up by the membership, and should submit reports on their work at regular intervals to the membership;

(b) The trade unions of all levels shall carry on their work in accordance with the Constitution and decisions of the Trade Unions;

(c) The trade unions shall make decisions only by a majority vote of the members present at the meeting;

(d) The lower trade union organizations shall obey the higher trade union organizations.

Article 7

The organizational principle of industrial unions is as follows: All trade union members in the same enterprise or institution are organized in one single basic organization; all trade union members in the same industrial branch of the

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

national economy are organized in the same national industrial union.

Article 8

The trade union councils of provincial, city, county or town level are the joint leading bodies of the local trade union organizations and the industrial unions in the given province, city, county or town.

Article 9

The supreme authority of the trade unions of different levels is the general meeting of trade union members or the meeting of their representatives (for basic organizations), the congresses (for trade union organizations of provincial, city, county or town level), and the All-China Congress of Trade Unions (for the whole country).

The general membership meetings and congresses shall elect the trade union committees of the various levels—the workshop committee, basic committee, county committee, city committee, provincial committee, national committee and the Executive Committee of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions. The above committees are the executive bodies of the trade unions of various levels and are held responsible for directing the day-to-day work of the various trade unions concerned.

New elections of a trade union may be advanced on the suggestion of more than one-third of its membership and with the approval of a higher trade union body.

Article 10

The trade union committees of all levels in the intervals between congresses may hold representative conferences to sum up and exchange experiences in work.

Article 11

The trade union committees of all levels may set up various departments or permanent working committees according to the needs of work.

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Chapter III

The Supreme Leading Body of the Trade Unions in the Country

Article 12

The supreme leading body of the trade unions in the People's Republic of China is the All-China Federation of Trade Unions.

Article 13

The supreme authority of the trade unions of the People's Republic of China is the All-China Congress of Trade Unions, which has the power:

(a) To hear and approve the reports made by the Executive Committee and the Auditing Commission of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions;

(b) To define the policies and tasks of the trade unions throughout the country and hear the reports of the economic and cultural agencies of the Central People's Government, so as to devise measures to guarantee the fulfilment and over-fulfilment of the economic plans of the state;

(c) To amend and approve the Constitution of the Trade Unions of the People's Republic of China;

(d) To define the tasks of the trade unions of China in the international working-class movement;

(e) To elect the Executive Committee and the Auditing Commission of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions.

Article 14

The All-China Congress of Trade Unions shall be convened every four years by the Executive Committee of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions.

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Article 15

The members and alternate members of the Executive Committee and the Auditing Commission of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions shall be elected in accordance with the number of members determined by the All-China Congress of Trade Unions.

Article 16

In the intervals between All-China Congresses of Trade Unions, the Executive Committee of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions is responsible for the thorough implementation of the decisions of the Congress and for the direction of the trade union work throughout the country.

Article 17

The Executive Committee of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions shall elect at its plenary session a Presidium and a Secretariat. When the Executive Committee is not in session, the Presidium is the supreme leading body of the trade unions throughout the country, and is responsible for carrying out the decisions of the All-China Congress of Trade Unions and of the plenary session of the Executive Committee, and directing all trade union work all over the country. The Secretariat attends to the routine trade union work throughout the country under the guidance of the Presidium.

Article 18

The auditing commissions of different levels are responsible for the examination of the financial matters of the trade unions of the corresponding levels.

Article 19

The highest leading body of each industrial union is its national committee. The supreme authority of an industrial union is its national congress, which shall be convened every three years by the national committee of the industrial union concerned.

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Its functions are:

(a) To hear and approve reports made by the national committee and auditing commission of the industrial union;

(b) To hear reports of the related authorities of the Central People's Government, and define the policies and tasks of the industrial union;

(c) To amend and approve the regulations of the industrial union;

(d) To elect the national committee and the auditing commission.

Article 20

In the intervals between the national congresses of an industrial union, its national committee is responsible for the carrying out of the decisions of its congress and of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions and elects a presidium or standing committee to direct the routine work.

Chapter IV

Local Trade Union Organizations

Article 21

The All-China Federation of Trade Unions may set up branch offices or working committees in the various administrative areas. Their function is to direct on behalf of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, the work of the provincial and city trade union councils and the local industrial unions.

The provincial and city trade union councils are the joint leading bodies of the local trade union organizations and industrial unions in their respective provinces and cities.

The provincial and city councils may, according to the needs of work, set up branch offices in the special regions and

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

urban districts to supervise and examine local trade union work.

Article 22

The committees of the provincial and city trade union councils shall be elected by their respective provincial and city trade union congresses.

The provincial, city and mining area committees of industrial unions shall be elected by the provincial, city and mining area congresses of the respective industries.

Article 23

The supreme authority of the provincial and city trade union councils as well as the provincial, city and mining area committees of industrial unions is their respective congresses which shall hear reports on the activities of the trade union committees and auditing commissions of their corresponding levels, define the immediate tasks and elect the trade union committees and the auditing commissions.

Congresses of the provincial trade union councils as well as the trade union councils of those cities under the direct jurisdiction of the Central People's Government, and provincial congresses of industrial unions shall be convened every two years by the trade union committees of the corresponding levels.

Congresses of trade union councils of those cities under the jurisdiction of the province and congresses of industrial unions in cities and mining areas shall be convened every year by the respective committees.

Article 24

In the intervals between respective congresses, the committees of provincial and city trade union councils and the provincial, city and mining area committees of the industrial unions are responsible for the thorough implementation of the decisions of the congresses and for the direction of the activities of their subordinate trade union organizations, in

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

accordance with the decisions and directives of the higher trade unions.

Article 25

The committees of provincial and city trade union councils and the provincial, city and mining area committees of industrial unions may each elect one chairman, several vice-chairmen and members to form a standing committee for guiding the routine work.

Article 26

Trade unions of county and town levels shall be organized by the respective provincial trade union councils on the basis of the organizational rules of the provincial and city trade union councils, and in accordance with the local concrete conditions and needs.

Chapter V

Basic Trade Union Organizations

Article 27

The basic trade union organizations are the foundation of the trade unions. They are formed by the trade union members in the same enterprise or establishment. In an enterprise or establishment with 25 trade union members or more a committee may be set up. In the case of less than 25 trade union members, a trade union group may be set up and an organizer elected. In the case of less than three trade union members, they may join the nearest basic trade union organization of the related industry or trade, or set up a joint group.

Article 28

The general membership meeting or the meeting of representatives in an enterprise or establishment is the supreme

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

authority of a basic trade union organization. The general membership meeting or the meeting of representatives shall be convened every year or half a year. Its functions are: to hear and approve reports on the activities of the basic trade union committee and auditing commission, to hear report on the activities of the administration of the enterprise or establishment, to define the tasks and concrete programme of work of the basic trade union committee, and to elect the basic trade union committee and auditing commission.

Article 29

Each basic trade union committee shall elect a chairman and several vice-chairmen, and establish permanent or temporary working committees according to the needs of work.

Article 30

The tasks of the basic trade union organizations are:

(a) To organize all the workers, technical personnel and staff members in labour emulation drives, to strengthen labour discipline, and to guarantee the fulfilment and over-fulfilment of the production plan of the state;

(b) To show constant concern over the improvement of the material and cultural life, and the working conditions of the entire body of workers, technical personnel and staff members; to help and supervise the managements or the capitalists in the thorough carrying out of the laws and decrees of the People's Government concerning labour protection and labour insurance;

(c) To organize cultural, political and technical studies, as well as cultural and sport activities for all workers, technical personnel and staff members;

(d) To admit new trade union members, collect trade union dues and report regularly to higher trade union

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

organizations and the membership about its activities and financial conditions.

Article 31

The basic trade union committee may set up workshop (department) committees to lead trade union activities in the workshops (departments). Each workshop (department) committee shall elect a chairman (and several vice-chairmen in case of big workshops) and may establish such permanent or temporary working committees if required.

Article 32

Under the basic trade union committee or workshop (department) committee, trade union groups may be formed according to production units or office units. A trade union group shall elect a group leader and, if necessary, also a deputy leader, a labour protection inspector, a labour insurance steward, and cultural and educational functionaries to assist the group leader.

Chapter VI

Funds

Article 33

Sources of trade union funds:

(a) Admission fees of new members. A new member is to pay an admission fee 1 per cent of his total wage of the month previous to his admission;

(b) Membership dues. Each member is to pay regularly 1 per cent of his monthly wage as membership dues;

(c) Proceeds from cultural and sport activities sponsored by the trade unions;

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

(d) Allocations by the managements or capitalists of enterprises as trade union funds in accordance with the Trade Union Law.

Article 34

The trade unions of all levels shall spend their funds in accordance with estimates approved by their higher trade union organizations and the financial and accounting systems set up by the All-China Federation of Trade Unions. They should report at regular intervals to the membership and to the higher trade union organizations on their financial accounts. The report on financial accounts is to be examined and signed by the chairman of the auditing commission.

Article 35

The systems of finance and budget and accounts of the trade unions shall be fixed separately by the All-China Federation of Trade Unions.

Chapter VII

Appendices

Article 36

This Constitution shall come into effect after being adopted by the Seventh All-China Congress of Trade Unions and the right of interpretation of the Constitution rests with the Executive Committee of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions.

Article 37

Should there be any imperfection in the Constitution, the right of revision rests with the All-China Congress of Trade Unions.

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2

Article 38

The industrial trade unions may formulate their own rules according to the specific conditions of their industries, but such rules shall not contradict the present Constitution.

Article 39

Regulations governing the organization of trade union councils for handicraft workers will be formulated separately.

Approved For Release 2007/10/19 : CIA-RDP83-00418R006200350002-2